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1958
The Honorable Eric Johnston
Chairman, Committee For International
Economic Growth
1300 Connecticut Avenue, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Eric:

Many thanks for your letter of 29 April and
the enclosed copy of the Record and Proceedings
on "Foreign Aspects of U. S. National Security".

I am delighted to get the expertly compiled
report on the Conference and your courtesy in
sending it to me is indeed appreciated.

With kindest personal regards.

Sincerely,

Allen W. Dulles
Director

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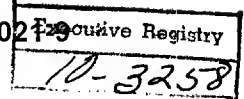
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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 29, 1958

Dear Allen:

You will find attached a copy of the Record and Proceedings of the Conference on "Foreign Aspects of U.S. National Security", which has been prepared by the post-conference Committee for International Economic Growth.

I hope this report will serve to recreate for all of the participants some of the atmosphere of February twenty-fifth, as well as furnish them with a permanent record of the talks and discussions.

Again let me thank you for making such a fine presentation at the Conference and for letting us have Foster with us at the Speakers Table for dinner.

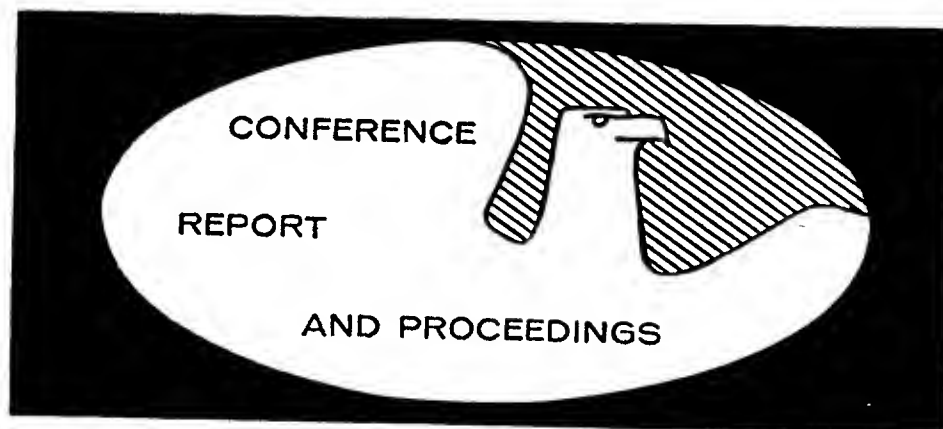
Very sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Eric".

Eric Johnston

The Honorable Allen W. Dulles
Director
Central Intelligence Agency
Washington 25, D. C.

Foreign Aspects of U. S. National Security



WASHINGTON, D.C.

FEBRUARY 25, 1958



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Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles (at the microphone), first speaker of the morning session. At the left, Conference Chairman Eric Johnston, right, Adlai E. Stevenson.

*Foreign Aspects
of U. S. National Security*

CONFERENCE REPORT AND PROCEEDINGS

WASHINGTON, D.C.
FEBRUARY 25, 1958

Committee for
International Economic Growth

1300 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.
Washington 6, D. C.

April 1958



Foreword

WHAT THIS REPORT IS ABOUT

At the request of President Eisenhower,

Mr. Eric Johnston convened a Conference on "Foreign Aspects of United States National Security" in Washington, D. C. on February 25, 1958.

Completely bi-partisan in character, the Conference brought together leaders of both parties and outstanding citizens from practically every state, Alaska, Hawaii, and Puerto Rico. They came, as Mr. Johnston said in opening the conference—

"to discuss the free world's mutual security—the security of our own country in a troubled world; to explore the root and substance of America's security in this year of 1958 and for the years ahead."

This record of the Conference,

which the President characterized as in many respects the most unique occasion at which he had ever been present, is divided into four parts.

Part One, a Summary Report, gives the background, outlines the general trend of the discussion and some of the factual material, and quotes statements that highlight main points made by the speakers.

Part Two gives the full text of the addresses, beginning with that of President Eisenhower, which

actually followed the dinner at the end of the day's session.

Part Three gives a somewhat condensed record of the afternoon question-and-answer panel headed by Vice President Nixon. It also contains a brief account of the panel on Post Conference Education, which concluded with the adoption of a motion recommending formation of an independent citizens' committee to encourage discussion and stimulate a further flow of information about the Mutual Security Program.

Part Four gives the order of events in the day's program, and lists those who participated and those who assisted Mr. Johnston in organizing the Conference.

For the sake of ease in reading,

the quotations in Part One do not indicate omissions by the usual mechanical device of spaced periods . . . The reader can readily compare the extracts with the full text in Parts Two and Three—a rich mine of thoughtful material, of which only surface outcroppings appear in the Summary Report.

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A corps of volunteer hostesses handle the early morning task of registering the participants from 42 states, Hawaii, Alaska and Puerto Rico.

Part One

A SUMMARY REPORT

"An event without parallel in modern American History . . ."

. . . is how the *New York Herald Tribune* described this conference in Washington where some 1400 Americans gathered late in February, 1958.

They met to discuss the security of the United States and its foreign aspects—in the age in which man is preparing to travel to the moon and beyond.

They met in the knowledge that we are nearing the day when man has the power to exterminate the human race—in which two nations share much of the responsibility for the destiny of mankind. What the USA does in relation to the USSR and other nations, and what the USSR does in relation to the USA and other nations, will not only shape our own and the world's future but determine whether there is to be a future.

In the four months preceding this Conference, the USSR had given ample evidence that it is now prepared to challenge the United States on the latter's home ground, in the fields of scientific achievement and peaceful production. What might once have been regarded as the idle boasts of the Kremlin, were now reinforced by the hard realities of two earth-circling satellites and by \$2 billion of Communist aid to countries within the Free World.

It was acute awareness of this Soviet challenge which brought 1400 national leaders from all walks of life, every sector of our land and both political parties to the "Conference on Foreign Aspects of United States National Security" at the Hotel Stat-

ler on the third day after Washington's birthday. There were hundreds more who wanted to sit in on this discussion, but they had to be turned away for lack of room. It was, in the words of *Time*, "one of the most diverse citizens' groups ever assembled."

Specifically, the Conference was called to explore methods for providing a fuller flow of information to the American people about the Mutual Security Program—that legislation which authorizes the U. S. Government to help build up the military defenses of the Free World; to cooperate with other countries in strengthening their economies; to lend technical assistance to help those who want to help themselves; to provide emergency relief for children, for the oppressed and for victims of disaster.

Partisanship Took a Holiday.

Political foes famous for forthright speech put away partisan verbal hardware at this Conference, proving once again that there are causes big enough to bring together people from opposite political poles.

Among the participants were the President of the United States, a former President, two former Presidential candidates, the Vice President, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, 193 Members of Congress, the Chief Justice, the Secretary of State and his Democratic predecessor, the Secretary



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Bi-partisan spirit demonstrated. Left to Right, Dean Acheson, former Democratic Secretary of State, former President Harry S. Truman, Senator Lyndon B. Johnson, Majority Leader of the Senate, and Republican Minority Senate Leader, William F. Knowland.

of Defense, and scores of other high Government officials.

Former President Truman joined wholeheartedly in support of President Eisenhower's proposals for Mutual Security. Equally generous support came from the President's opponent in two elections, Adlai E. Stevenson. The former Secretary of State, Dean Acheson, was on the same side of the argument as the man he has sometimes vigorously criticized, Secretary of State John Foster Dulles. Vice President Nixon, leading a discussion panel, undertook to answer any question that came from the floor, even the most sharply critical.

Seated at the same table at luncheon and dinner were such political opposites as Senate Majority Leader Lyndon B. Johnson, Democrat, and Minority Leader William F. Knowland, Republican; House Majority Leader John W. McCormack, Democrat, and Minority Leader Joseph W. Martin, Jr., and Minority Whip Leslie C. Arends, Republicans; and the Democratic Chairmen and the ranking Republican Members of a number of important Congressional committees.

Outside the political sphere, leaders in three great religious faiths, Protestant, Catholic, and

Jewish—the Reverend Edwin T. Dahlberg, President of the National Council of Churches of Christ in the U. S. A.; Bishop Fulton J. Sheen, Auxiliary Bishop of New York; Rabbi Theodore L. Adams, President of the Synagogue Council of America—showed their fundamental agreement regarding the moral foundations of cooperation and assistance through the Mutual Security Program.

Why then was this Conference called,

if informed leaders, representing different political and religious beliefs, all agree as to the vital necessity for Mutual Security?

Because, successful action in a democracy depends not only upon informed leaders but even more upon an informed body of citizens. As the President said: "It depends on the fullest understanding by every American of the importance of these programs to our country." But as yet, many Americans are not sufficiently informed about Mutual Security to have such an understanding.

For example, Representatives Carnahan (Democrat from Missouri) and Merrow (Republican from New Hampshire), both Members of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, had returned the day

before the Conference from a joint speaking tour of 32 cities in 21 states. They reported that their audiences were interested in the program, eager to learn about it, "and we found that once the benefits of the program were understood and the program explained, there was enthusiastic support."

The Conference of February 25th was called, therefore, to inform a broad group of citizen leaders about Mutual Security, with the hope that they in turn would carry the facts to ever-widening groups of citizens. It was for this reason that the Conference was organized around the leaders of over 300 national organizations representing all facets of America: business, labor, agriculture, women's, veterans, nationality groups, and fraternal orders to name but a few. It was also for this reason that the opening talks undertook to explain

What the Mutual Security Program is.

It is a program through which the United States and other nations join together to strengthen their mutual security and to advance their mutual search for peace. This is done in two ways: *First*, through Military Assistance, we increase the military defenses of the United States and the Free World at a minimum cost; and *Second*, through Economic Assistance, we help lay the foundations for economic growth "in the newly-developing countries of Asia, Africa and the Near East, so that they can be strong enough to be economically independent and thereby politically independent of foreign domination." The Administration's request for this program for 1959 is \$3.9 billion, two-thirds of which is for Military Assistance and one-third for Economic Assistance.

The Military Assistance part

of the program, as requested for 1959, amounts to \$2,630 million or only about one-sixteenth of the cost of the domestic armaments program. President Eisenhower itemized this military figure as follows: "The sum needed for direct military assistance to others is \$1,800 million. Defense Support, which is the financial assistance we give certain countries in order to help them maintain necessary military forces, accounts for another \$830 million."

Secretary of Defense McElroy, dealing in more detail with the military side of the Mutual Security Program, said that the United States is currently furnishing weapons to more than 40 countries and

also providing extensive training. However, this is not a one-way street. *Since 1950, he said, our allies have spent about \$5 of their own money on mutual defense for every \$1 contributed by the United States.*

What has this mutual effort produced? Secretary McElroy noted our worldwide network of over 250 major land, sea and air installations outside the United States. Our allies also have 34 percent more ground forces (also better trained and equipped) than in 1950, 108 percent more combatant vessels, 12½ percent more conventional aircraft and 23 times as many jet planes.

The President, the Vice President, and the Secretary of Defense, each stressed the fact that "the unit costs in sustaining this allied power are far less than in producing similar strength from our own resources." In addition, "if we should attempt to do the whole task ourselves, the number of young men inducted into our armed forces would be sharply increased." Vice President Nixon, in the afternoon session, was quite specific:

"As far as the Military Assistance is concerned, what we are doing is simply providing the funds to maintain the forces on the perimeter of the Communist empire, forces that have to be maintained, not only for the defense and security of the countries in which those forces are located, but also for our own defense. And if these forces weren't maintained by the Koreans, the Formosans, by the South Vietnamese, by the Turks and our friends in Western Europe with our help, we would have to do the job alone. On the average, it would cost us in dollars, purely apart from the manpower, five times as much at least to maintain the same level of military strength abroad that we currently have."

Military Assistance—Necessary but Negative

Throughout the day, speaker after speaker acknowledged the necessity for Military Assistance and for other defense expenditures, but all agreed with James R. Killian, Jr. — the President's "missile czar" — that "defense is only a part of the nation's task; and that it is a negative part".

The President, and his Democratic predecessor, Harry S. Truman were in such close accord on this point that their words flow almost as a continuity:

"To maintain America's military strength during the next five years, we shall spend more than 200 billion dollars. This almost unimagi-

nable sum will, together with similar but smaller expenditures of our allies, keep us in a strong security posture. But these sums, great as they are, cannot produce a single constructive useful thing for human beings". (President Eisenhower)

"Now, what can we hope from all these weapons—all these billions of dollars we must spend for defense? The most we can hope to gain from them is a stalemate—all we can do with them is to buy time. But time for what, you may ask. Are we to go on blindly with no hope, no plans for ending the armament race, no program for establishing a just peace in the world except to pile weapon upon weapon? No, my friends, that is not the answer." (Former President Truman).

Economic Assistance—Affirmative Step Toward Peace

"One of our best hopes", Mr. Truman continued, "is economic assistance for other nations. This is a chance to move forward, to do something affirmative toward breaking the stalemate. This is our chance to take action toward peace, behind the shield our defense forces form for us. Foreign economic assistance is the cutting edge on the tool that gives some meaning and purpose to all our efforts for defense."

This positive theme of Economic Assistance as an affirmative step toward peace preoccupied the attention of many of the speakers, bringing forth a display of high thinking, deep feeling and noble expression such as results only when men are profoundly moved by great events and causes.

"In the last analysis we can have positive security only through positive peace [the President said]. A positive peace is one brought about by active work to create the living conditions, the level of education and health, the mutual understanding, and the sense of common purpose that make possible the everyday substance of living in harmony with our neighbors. Peace is an affirmative, constructive, continuing development."

Referring to the sum which the United States devotes to this affirmative step toward peace, the President noted that "Economic and technical aid totals \$1,300 million—about half of what we spend for the military portions of the program".

Mr. Truman felt that this amount was unduly modest: "If there is any money in the budget that holds out any hope for mankind, this is it; and we

ought not to be talking about cutting it but about raising it—perhaps raising it substantially. People will forgive us for spending too much in the search for peace; they will never forgive us for refusing to spend enough."

What Good Has Our Mutual Aid Done?

In asking this question, President Eisenhower referred to the entire Mutual Security Program—to the two-thirds which is spent on military assistance and to the one-third which is spent on economic assistance.

He then recalled for the participants the situation in Greece in 1947 before the Truman Doctrine gave assistance, the critical situation in Iran before the fall of Mossadegh, and the perilous condition of South Viet-Nam after the partition of Viet-Nam in 1954. In each of these cases, mutual aid resulted in "freedom saved and communist imperialism checked at a crucial point."

Our program of mutual aid has produced equally dramatic results in the economic field, results which are clearly tied to our own economic prosperity. A measure of the benefits to the U. S. economy can be seen in the rising value of U. S. exports to Europe since the Marshall Plan stimulated recovery from World War II. For example, the value of U. S. exports to Belgium and Luxembourg increased by 47 per cent between 1948 and 1957; by 55 per cent to Italy; by 67 per cent to the United Kingdom; and by 95 per cent to the Netherlands. These five countries combined spent over one billion dollars more for U. S. products in 1957 than in 1948.

What is the Present Function of Mutual Aid?

The function of our mutual aid program has shifted from meeting post-war emergencies to building the long-range basis for peace. It has shifted from the swift restoration of Europe's war-damaged economies to the slow, difficult task of economic development; it is now concentrated heavily in the newly-developing countries of Asia and Africa where vast reserves of human energy are opening up in a way that has not happened for centuries.

"Is this tremendous force to become funneled into violence, rioting, destruction of orderly government, and communist exploitation?",

the President asked. "Or will [it] be channeled into producing better education, wider sharing of prosperity, improved health and living standards, and greater freedom, self-determination and self-respect?"

"Look at a single figure. Over a large part of this area the average individual has twenty cents a day to live on." True, these people have been abysmally poor for centuries. But there is a change; recently most of these countries have become independent. "The world has seen twenty new countries born since World War II." Their people are now determined to have a better life, and "the trained communist agent is always present, trying to make communist capital out of this normal and healthy dissatisfaction with needless poverty."

This, the President said, is what American co-operation in the economic development of these countries means:

"Improved agriculture and industry raise living standards and give more and more people a solid stake in peace.

"Improved education brings greater political stability and international understanding.

"Improved health cuts down poverty and misery which are well-known breeding-grounds of disorder and communism."

Why Is This Aid "Mutual"?

Our aid program is *mutual* because it helps America at the same time that it helps our friends. The evidence given by the speakers supported the



Senator Theodore Francis Green (Democrat, Rhode Island), Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, in earnest discussion with Secretary of State John Foster Dulles.



Three national leaders join forces. Adlai Stevenson, President Eisenhower, Thomas E. Dewey.

conclusion that the program has these practical results:

- It provides military safeguards, through co-operative action, of a kind that the United States could not possibly obtain if we tried to go it alone, even though we put far more men in uniform and imposed far heavier taxes for defense.
- It strengthens our Allies—strong allies are an asset, weak ones a liability.
- It helps to assure access to materials which the United States must import not only for defense, but for industry and everyday living. (By 1975, we shall need to import between 25 per cent and 100 per cent of our requirements for the 26 most important industrial raw materials, ranging from antimony to zinc).
- It enlarges foreign markets by helping to create new purchasing power and new consumer demands where hitherto there has often been only the economic vacuum of utter poverty. (In the last five years our foreign trade has expanded 68 per cent—our domestic trade 18 per cent. Foreign trade now provides more jobs, 4½ million, for Americans than the automobile, textile, chemical and steel industries combined).
- It helps newly-developing countries to hold off Communist attempts to turn discontent into subversion. It helps these countries to become sturdy, self-respecting members of a peaceful Free World community. And thus,
- It helps independent countries to stay independent. More people have gained political

independence since World War II than have gone behind the Iron Curtain in the same period, even when one includes the vast population of Communist China. If these newly independent people should go the way of China, more than three-fourths of the world would be Communist.

Aid Dollars Spur U. S. Employment

At a time when there is so much concern about recession and unemployment, it's important to remember that 600,000 Americans in factories and farms throughout the United States owe their jobs to the Mutual Security Program. This fact, which was pointed out by the first three speakers of the day—Messrs. John Foster Dulles, Adlai E. Stevenson and Neil H. McElroy—came as a new thought to many of the participants.

"There seems to be an idea in some quarters," said Secretary Dulles, "that the money appropriated for Mutual Security is in some way taken abroad and spent there. Of course, this is not the fact." Actually, nearly 80 cents of every dollar of Mutual Security funds is spent right here in the United States to buy farm products, machinery, materials, and military hardware, which in turn are sent abroad to aid the recipient country. By thus aiding both the U.S. economy and the economies of foreign countries, Mutual Security dollars do double duty.

Russia's Challenge to Mutual Aid

The Soviet Union has not been blind to the restless forces in the less developed countries, forces which demand some tangible signs of economic progress; nor has it been blind to the strength and achievements of America's Mutual Security Program in meeting these rising aspirations. Accordingly, in the last several years the Soviet bloc has begun to imitate this program by mounting its own strong program of trade and aid.

Mr. Allen W. Dulles, Director of the Central Intelligence Agency, gave the Conference facts about this new Soviet challenge:

"The total amount in credits and grants extended by the Sino-Soviet bloc for economic development outside the bloc over the last three years [is] the equivalent of about \$2 billion.

"Over 95 percent of this aid has been concentrated on six countries—Afghanistan, Egypt, Syria, India, Indonesia and Yugoslavia. In these countries over the past two and a half years, Soviet programs in aggregate have been more than double those of the Free World. Many other countries are today in the throes of deciding whether to seek aid from the West or from the Soviet bloc.

"The Soviet programs have also included a large-scale movement of technical personnel to the Free World countries. More than 2000 are now active in nine countries in which U. S. comparable personnel number less than 1000. Also large numbers of technicians are going from these countries to Moscow, Prague, and Peiping for their training."

Russia Has "Declared War"

on the United States "in the peaceful field of trade", to quote Mr. Khrushchev's own words. In repeated statements during the past year, the Russian leader has indicated a shift in Soviet tactics from the use of military force to that of economic penetration. This is a serious challenge which cannot be ignored, in the light of existing facts. Mr. Allen Dulles analyzed the Soviet strategy as follows:

"The evidence as we now see it indicates that the USSR does not propose to use its military power in a manner which would involve the grave risk of war.

"It seems clear that the Soviets desire to press forward in the area where they probably consider us most vulnerable: the winning of the allegiance and eventually the control of the uncommitted nations by trade and aid, and by subversion.

"They probably estimate that if they can induce us to devote our resources almost exclusively to the military field, they can the more easily break our economic and cultural ties with other nations and win them over.

"Today; February 25th, is the tenth anniversary of the take-over of Czechoslovakia by Communism. Not a shot was fired. It was not guided missiles but the so-called 'guided democracy' which did the trick."

Stevenson Would Test Russia's Motives

Mr. Adlai Stevenson, like Mr. Allen Dulles, believes there is a vast difference between the purpose of Russian loans and credits and the purpose of our economic assistance. He suspects that the Soviet Union is using aid and trade for the ultimate goal of political control. Accordingly, he would test Mr. Khrushchev's sincerity. As part of a six-point program, Mr. Stevenson recommended the following:

"Sixth—Against the background of an enlarged and stabilized American program, weaving together the great resources of the indus-



Discussing a point are two prominent guests, Adlai E. Stevenson, right, and Senator Leverett Saltonstall (Republican, Mass.)

trialized nations, giving play to private as well as government initiative, we could well invite Mr. Khrushchev to coordinate his efforts with ours if he is really interested in the economic development and political independence of these less fortunate countries. Such cooperation—and I hope we leave no stone unturned in our effort to cooperate—could avoid the waste and hazard of blackmail that results from competition in this kind of effort. And if the Soviets are not interested in joining our international effort, such an offer would at least unmask the motives behind their assistance programs."

The Responsibility of Neighbors In a Shrinking World

Moving beyond the question of the Soviet Union and its challenges, Mr. Stevenson struck a responsive chord in the other Conference participants when he expressed his own conviction that: "Obviously this isn't just a contest with Communism. Our interest in the independence of these vast areas would be just as vital if Russia and China were still governed by imperial Czars and Emperors. Even if the Communists were to call off their campaign of economic and political penetration, the need for our effort to help these emerging nations make the transition to modern, viable economies would remain. For so long as a billion people in this shrinking world see no hope of fulfilling their impatient demands for a better life, the threat of disorder, desperate measures and dictatorship remains, and there can be no real hope for the secure peace the world is yearning for."

The inter-dependence of peoples in a shrinking world was also what President Eisenhower had in mind, later in the day, when he said: "My friends, if we are to find the world we seek, we must catch the vision of the neighborhood of the world. When we have done this, all such measures as Mutual Security will seem as natural and logical—or as necessary to our own good—as our activities for community prosperity, health, and education seem now."

The Moral Challenge to America

The belief that nations, as well as individuals, have a responsibility toward their neighbors is one which is deeply embedded in the minds and hearts of many Americans. Why then, they ask, must the

United States always stress the factor of "self interest" in its international programs? In our home communities, are we good neighbors only because it pays?

"I hope we Americans will cease to be ashamed of generosity and magnanimity," Mr. Stevenson said. "No nation ever before approached what this one has done to help others help themselves, and not by any means in self-protection either. Why don't we glory in it? Why aren't we proud of it? Why do we ridicule our best instincts? I have said before, and I repeat, that I haven't seen any repeal of the command to love your neighbor."

In the present world situation, there is a moral and spiritual challenge to America, and it was to this challenge that the three representatives of the great religious faiths addressed themselves.

Said Dr. Edwin T. Dahlberg:

"The world is weary and disheartened by the continuing plans for massive *retaliation*. We yearn for someone to lead in plans for massive *reconciliation*, on a global scale, and look for the day, which we believe to be at hand even now, when America's great wealth, resources, and power shall be dedicated to that end.

"Can we ever expect the world to believe in our peaceful intentions when we appropriate 45 billion dollars for our military budget and only a few million dollars for non-military development and technical cooperation?"

Rabbi Theodore L. Adams took note of "our present serious problems of recession and unemployment" but recalled that similar problems faced Rome at the time it collapsed before the onrush of barbarians. Rome's collapse was due only in part to her absorption in military affairs and her consequent neglect of the economic crisis. This crisis was really a secondary symptom: "the economic evils had their root in moral apathy and paralysis of human will."

"Clearly, a radically effective strategy needs to be devised for regenerating the spirit of our people, for giving them a renewed sense of courage, confidence and mission, and for enabling them to develop a sober, rather than a neurotic, awareness of our opportunities, as well as our perils."

Bishop Fulton J. Sheen cautioned the Conference that the United States must not base its

mutual aid only on self-interest and materialism. "To do this would be to put ourselves on the same basis as the Soviets. We would thereby assume the basic Marxian principle of the economic determination of history.

"The foreign aid of the United States must introduce some factor besides the economic, political and military, one which is the strongest in our national traditions and one which the Soviets not only lack but repudiate. They have one fear in our dealing with the rest of the world, that we will take cognizance of that defect which makes them suspect by all the peoples of Asia and Africa, and that is our belief in God, the dignity of the human person, the freedom of conscience, and the principle that the State exists for man, not man for the State.

"The Soviets would have the world believe there is only hunger of the belly. Our great country which has risen to prosperity because it holds that God has endowed men with certain inalienable rights must recognize that 'not by bread alone doth man live'.

"This is the crux of the question of foreign aid."

But What About Mistakes in the Program?

Even the strongest advocates of the Mutual Security Program readily conceded that there have been mistakes in its administration. On this particular point, Mr. Truman had some forceful comments to make:

"There are many people who say they don't like the foreign aid program because they believe it is administered badly. I don't believe that. From where I sit, it looks as if a lot of things are now being administered badly—but you can't abolish the government on that account. Neither is that the way to correct mistakes in the Mutual Security Program. Examine it all you please, correct all the mistakes you can, improve it every year and every day, eliminate waste and increase efficiency—but don't scuttle the ship just to stop the leaks."

In the best traditions of an American town meeting, critics of the program had their say particularly in the afternoon panel, when questions from the floor were answered by Vice President Nixon, Deputy Under Secretary of State C. Douglas Dillon, Assistant Secretary of Defense Mansfield D. Sprague, ICA Director James H. Smith, Jr., and

the Manager of the Development Loan Fund, Dempster McIntosh.

Why isn't more of the program channeled through the United Nations? Why isn't military assistance put in the Defense Department budget rather than the Mutual Security budget? What is being done to correct mistakes in both the economic and the military programs? Hasn't there been a great deal of waste? Aren't there too many Americans abroad in connection with these programs? Don't we need a second World Bank? What is being done to protect American overseas investments? Why should we spend American money to build up our competitors?

These were some of the billion-dollar questions which the panel members answered frankly and fully, and which are included in Part Three of this Conference Report. And then there was Danny Kaye's heart-warming reply to a question about the United Nations Children's Fund.

Vice President Nixon's answers to two of the questions were among the highlights of the day:



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Standing room only in the Presidential Room, Hotel Statler.

Why Spend Money Abroad For Projects We Turn Down At Home?

How do you rationalize draining swamps in India and building dams in North Africa, a questioner asked, while in the name of economy we refuse to start needed reclamation and water-resource projects here in our country?

"We do want to develop our own country [Mr. Nixon answered]. We want better reclamation, flood control, and development of our agriculture and all our resources. But I would just like to suggest that we can have the finest reclamation program in the world and it's not going to make any difference if we're not around to enjoy it.

"We have to realize that in aiding these countries in developing their water and power resources, we are of course aiding ourselves. We also have to realize that the alternative to providing funds for the 'capital deficit' countries is one that the United States and the Free World cannot accept. It's either economic deterioration followed by political instability which allows the strongest minority group to take over—fascist or communist; [or it] forces these countries to turn somewhere else for aid. And I don't need to tell you that there are others who will offer the aid when we in the Free World do not take the opportunity to offer it ourselves.

"In World War II we also had no new starts in reclamation. There was very little complaining, because we were fighting a war for our survival. What we must understand now is that we are again fighting a war for survival. It's not a military war at this point. It's an economic war. But it can destroy the independence and the liberty of free peoples just as surely as military war. And for that reason it is necessary for us to make some sacrifices at home."

Why Spend Money To Help Neutral Countries, especially when we know some of them will use it to socialize their institutions? This was a question that was put in various forms.

"What is our opponent in this conflict? [Mr. Nixon asked in turn.] We know what it is—international communism. What is the mortal enemy of international communism in any place in the world? It's national independence. If you can make a country strong enough to be independent of foreign domination, the Communists have then lost the battle.



Chose Ltd., Photo

The audience gave its close attention to the speakers.

"I say this is in our interest. Let us take India [as an example]. It is far better for India or any one of these countries to be independent, to be neutral, to be uncommitted, than to be on the Communist side. As far as India is concerned, whatever we may think of the government, whatever disagreement we may have with the leaders, we must remember they have the same great tradition of common law that we have, they have the same belief in freedom of speech and freedom of press that we have.

"There are parts of their economy that are nationalized, so this brings us to the question—do we finance socialism abroad? My answer is this. If the United States deliberately places conditions and strings on its aid programs, we may as well not have them at all. We believe our system is the best kind of system for us. We may also think it is the best kind for other countries, but we must remember that the conditions in each country vary, the tradition in each country varies, and the leaders and the people must have the same right as we to choose the kind of economy and the kind of government they want.

"As far as our self-interest is concerned, the question is *not* that we are buying friends. This is not the purpose of the program. The question is: By this program are we making countries around the world strong, independent members of the community of nations? If they are independent, if they are strong, this is the answer to communism because international communism is completely incompatible with national independence."

Science, Technology and Free World Development

Science is one of the great creative forces in the modern world and one in which Americans have special faith, because we have used it so extensively and effectively to transform and improve conditions of living. Other nations can do likewise and to the mutual benefit of us all. This was the aspect of mutual aid discussed by Dr. James R. Killian, Jr., who, since Sputnik, has been on leave from his post as President of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in order to serve as Special Assistant to President Eisenhower for Science and Technology.

If we wish to see scientific progress on a wide scale, he said, we must help create the kind of environment that makes it possible.

"Science and technology can be put to work only when they are woven into the fabric of a society which is modernizing its political life, its educational institutions, its methods of administration, and its outlook toward the whole economic process.

"This broad transformation of traditional societies can be carried out only on the spot by the citizens of the new aspiring nations. But the component of help from abroad may be decisive to the outcome. The economic aspects of our foreign aid program are designed to supply that essential component. They aim to help create the essential conditions for progress; to create the circumstances in which modern science and technology—and the scientists and engineers who know its methods and possibilities—can perform their creative tasks."

What Kind Of World For Our Children?

Throughout the day of February 25th, one central theme appeared and reappeared in the words of every speaker, regardless of his profession,

his politics or his religion. Mr. Stevenson stated it in this manner:

"The present generation in the West bears a heavy and inescapable responsibility for the kind of world in which their children and grandchildren will live. I am deeply convinced that the outcome depends on what the governments and peoples of the industrialized world do *now*—over the next decade—not on what is done a half century from now. Peoples of Asia, the Middle East and Africa are now gaining momentum; the new nations are now defining their inner character and purpose, what we do or fail to do now will thus cast long shadows."

Success Depends Upon Our Understanding And Action

Action in a democracy, however, depends upon a full public awareness and understanding of the issues. And therefore, the Conference voted to carry on the high purposes of this meeting by establishing a national committee of private citizens. It will be the mission of this committee to convey



Chase Ltd., Photo

Three speakers awaiting their turn.

to all our citizens a fuller flow of information on the foreign aspects of our national security. For, the participants at the Conference recognized that there remains much to be done if their zeal and understanding is to permeate to the grass roots of all America.

"Success," said the President in closing his speech that night "depends on the fullest understanding by every American of the importance of these programs to our country, as well as an understanding of the hopes and needs and views of our friends overseas. It depends not only on what we are willing to give, but on what we are willing to receive and learn from others. It depends on our realization of the indispensable role played by mutual aid to produce a safe and peaceful world.

"This is no time for shortsighted narrowness. The array of leaders of both parties who have come together here today is eloquent proof that on this issue partisanship has indeed taken a holiday. The urgency of the times and the opportunity before us call for greatness of spirit transcending all Party considerations.

"The tasks of building and sustaining a mighty military shield are hard, and tremendously costly. The tasks of patiently building a sound peace in a sound world are less costly, but even harder.

"Americans have always shown a greatness of spirit and capacity of understanding equal to the demands of both war and peace. Americans will show these qualities now, and in the years ahead."



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President Dwight D. Eisenhower with Conference Chairman Eric Johnston, and Co-Chairmen, Mr. Erle Cacke, Jr., Mrs. J. Ramsay Harris.

Part Two

TEXT OF ADDRESSES

SECURITY and PEACE

*The Hon. Dwight D. Eisenhower
President of the United States*



Mr. Chairman, and Fellow Americans:

I am speaking tonight at a unique dinner in Washington. At this dinner are national leaders from all walks of life, every sector of our land, and both political parties.

They have been meeting all day in our nation's Capital, considering one of the most critical and embracing problems of our times—that of furthering the peace.

I am honored to join with them tonight, for they are dedicated people. They are dedicated to this proposition:

In the last analysis, we can have positive security only through positive peace.

Today a principal deterrent to war is adequate military strength. We are sustaining it, and will keep on sustaining it.

But a positive peace is one brought about by active work to create the living conditions, the level of education and health, the mutual understanding, and the sense of common purpose that make possible the genuine everyday substance of living in harmony with our neighbors.

Peace is an affirmative, constructive, continuing development. Its foundation is an educational process that will give to all people a fuller understanding of the shadows of fear under which we live, and a united determination to dispel them.

To maintain America's military strength during the next five years, with no great or early change in the world situation, we shall spend more than \$200 billion. This almost unimaginable sum will, together with similar but smaller expenditures of our allies, keep us in a strong security posture. But these sums, great as they are, cannot produce a single constructive, useful thing for human beings. Indeed they can give us no more than relative security; only true peace can give us true security.

For the past four decades the primary goal of American foreign policy—overriding all others—has been to bring about this kind of peace—a peace in which every nation may confidently progress, each in its own way, toward a better life for all its people.

The methods we use in working for this kind of peace are many and varied. They include day-to-day diplomacy, talks with heads of friendly governments, tireless efforts to work out amicably the clashes of interest that naturally arise even among friends. They include building the mechanisms of peace, such as treaties of friendship and the United Nations. They involve the effort to take specific steps toward peace, among them, satisfactory disarmament plans. They include information activities, cultural programs, educational exchanges and promotion of mutually profitable foreign trade. And they involve the program of mutual security.

It is with this last item that I shall principally deal.

It is my conviction that, urgent as the outlay for our own missiles and other modern weapons may be, a strong program of military and economic aid is equally urgent.

This is a strong statement. It is bare, plain, fact.

My friends, we are talking about a program that has been proving its worth in practice for over ten years. And yet, every time another year comes round, the mutual security program is compelled to engage in a life-and-death struggle for its very existence.

Why? The reason is that the attack is based, not on the record, not on the facts. It is based on slogans, prejudices, penny-wise economy and above all, an outright refusal to look at the world of 1958 as it really is.

What the ostrich-like opponents of mutual security seem to be saying is: "Billions for armament, but not one cent for peace!"

Let's get away from sloganeering, and look at facts.

To do so, let us seek answers to three simple questions.

What is the mutual security program?

What good has it done?

What is its present function?

What Is Mutual Security?

Mutual aid is of two kinds: military and economic.

Of these, the military side is much the larger. In our request for 1959, the sum needed for direct military assistance to others is \$1.8 billion. "Defense support," which is the financial assistance we give certain countries in order to help them maintain necessary military forces, accounts for another \$830 million. The military strength maintained by these friendly countries is as necessary to our security as it is to theirs. Moreover, the unit costs in sustaining this allied power are far less than in producing similar strength from our own resources.

If we should attempt to do the whole task ourselves our over-all costs would go up at an appalling rate. The number of young men inducted into our armed forces would be sharply increased.

In short, I know of no responsible military authority who would for a moment consider abandoning or weakening our program of military aid.

But having provided, with the cooperation of our friends, for safety against military assault, we face only a bleak future of indefinite support of huge armaments unless we get on with the constructive work of peace. One of the major tools available to us, which serves both defensive and constructive purposes, is economic aid.

Economic and technical aid totals \$1.3 billion. This is about half of what we spend for the military portions of the program.

The larger part of this activity falls under three headings.

One is technical assistance. Often these countries have the needed funds, and labor, and determination, to carry out splendid development programs. These include improvements in irrigation, agriculture, roads, dams, health projects, schools and industry. Our small investment in providing the special skills of our experts supplies the necessary spark to release all this creative energy.

Another major part of economic aid is loans. Many of the newly developing countries cannot, in the early stages, borrow money from investors or banks. The new Development Loan Fund will tide them over this difficult period, until their economies become stronger.

Still another category of economic aid is called Special Assistance. This includes, among other things, grants where loan repayment would be impossible.

In short, economic aid is designed to bridge the two great gaps that stand in the path of most of the newly developing countries: lack of trained manpower, and lack of capital.

Results of Mutual Aid

Now, the second question: What good has all our mutual aid done?

The answer is this. Mutual aid has repeatedly played a major part in keeping free-world countries from losing their freedom. It has thwarted the Communist hope of encircling and isolating us by taking over vulnerable smaller countries, through aggression or subversion.

I give a few examples.

Consider Greece, in the winter of 1947. Some 30,000 Communist guerrillas, financed from foreign sources, had seized control of large parts of the country. The government did not have the resources to strengthen either its small, poorly equipped forces or the crumbling economy.

At that point, under the Truman Doctrine, United States economic and military aid went to work.

With its help, by the fall of 1949 the number of guerrillas was reduced to less than a thousand, and later wiped out altogether. And, during the years that followed, the tottering economy was restored to pre-war levels.

The result: freedom saved in a crucial sector, Communist imperialism checked.

Recall the critical situation in Iran before the fall of Mossadegh.

The economy was in chaos. Pro-Communist elements within the country were strong. The stage was set for a Communist take-over of this strategic country.

But the Shah and his people reacted vigorously, deposed Mossadegh and re-established law and order. American economic and military aid were promptly given and greatly bolstered the new government. Now the country's oil, so important to our European allies, is flowing again. A vigorous development program is in progress. Iran has found strength as a nation.

The result: again, freedom saved, Communist imperialism checked at a crucial point.

In 1954, we saw a clear case of the connection between mutual aid and peace in Viet-Nam. When Viet-Nam was partitioned in July 1954, South Viet-Nam faced the threat of overt aggression. It had the problem of absorbing nearly a million refugees. The country was full of private armies and subversive groups.

In spite of these appalling difficulties, Communist efforts to dominate South Viet-Nam have entirely failed. For this modern miracle, the Viet-Nameese people under the dedicated leadership of President Diem deserve great credit. At the same time, American aid of all kinds played an indispensable role. With our help a national army was organized and trained.

Technicians helped the government to set up institutions needed for healthy business and national life.

The result: once more, freedom saved, Communist imperialism checked, at a highly critical point.

Now ask yourselves, my friends: If this flood had not been stemmed at these points, where would it be now?

Can there really be anyone left in America who will say: "Never mind. Let these countries go one by one. We shall find peace and security in Fortress America."

We might as well try to find peace by building another Chinese wall.

Our hope for permanent security and peace today is not in fortifications and walls. It is in the hearts and minds and unity of purpose of the people whose ideals we share throughout the free world.

The Present Function of Mutual Aid

Our third question is: What is the present function of mutual aid?

As our mutual aid programs have shifted from meeting post-war emergencies to building the long-range basis for peace, the scene of operations has shifted. Our technical and economic aid is now concentrated heavily in the newly developing countries of Asia and Africa.

Throughout large parts of these continents, vast reserves of human energy are opening up in a way that has not happened for centuries.

This poses a blunt question. Is this tremendous force to become funneled into violence, rioting, destruction of orderly government, and Communist exploitation? Or will this force be channeled into producing better education, wider sharing of prosperity, improved health and living standards, and greater freedom, self-determination and self-respect? Is our goal a just and permanent peace or is it just a precarious security built on arms alone?

If you wonder why there is so much restlessness in such places as the Middle East, South Asia and the Far East, look at a single figure.

Over a large part of this area, the average individual has 20 cents a day to live on.

Some ask: "Hasn't this been true for centuries? Why then is it suddenly such a problem?"

One reason is that most of the countries involved have recently become independent. The world has seen twenty new countries born since World War II. With independence and with greater knowledge of the outside world there has been a new hope, and a new determination to have a better life.

In these countries the trained Communist agent is always present, trying to make Communist capital out of this normal and healthy dissatisfaction with needless poverty.

In the last few years the Communists have added a new technique: Blocked in their efforts to use military force for expansion, they have turned to offers of economic loans and credits—and this in spite of their own low standard of living at home. They are trying to imitate a valuable and needed program we began 10 years ago.

There is a vast difference, however, between the purpose of Russian loans and credits and the purpose of our economic aid.

The Soviet Union wants to gain economic, and ultimately political, control of the countries she pretends to help.

We, on the other hand, want these countries to stand on their own feet as proud, robust friends and partners with whom we can live in mutual respect.

Improved agriculture and industry raise living standards and give more and more people a solid stake in peace.

Improved education brings greater political stability and international understanding.

Improved health cuts down poverty and misery which are well known breeding grounds of disorder and communism.

Imperatives for Peace

My friends, if we are to find the world we seek, we must catch the vision of the neighborhood of the world. When we have done this, all such measures as mutual security will seem as natural and logical — or as necessary to our own good — as our activities for community prosperity, health, and education seem now.

While economic aid undeniably helps other nations, it likewise strengthens our own security and economic position. It establishes good relations with nations from whom we obtain important raw materials and other goods. Asia, for example, supplies five-sixths of the world's rubber and half of its tin. Moreover, the countries principally concerned represent the greatest potential market for future trade relations. Already they are buying five times as much from us as in 1938.

If anyone, then, wants to judge this entire program only on a what's-in-it-for-me basis, he can find all the justification he needs. But beyond this, if others want to add another element, "Do unto others as you would have them do unto you," I see no reason to apologize for acknowledging this kind of motive.

I can see no great evidence of intelligence in sneering at "do-gooders" if their do-gooding helps America at the same time that it helps our friends.

But it is not a primary purpose of mutual aid to produce expressions of gratitude and affection.

We should rather look for these things: Is economic aid helping these countries to hold off Communist attempts to turn discontent into subversion? Is it helping them to become sturdy, self-respecting members of a peaceful free-world community? Is it helping to win, for all of us, a secure and just peace?

The answer is "Yes."

Tonight I am not discussing the importance to peace and to our own domestic prosperity of the fullest possible trade with other nations — trade which means jobs to more than four and a half million Americans. That would take another speech in itself. But let me try to pack my views into one or two sentences.

Under current conditions, the urgency of both our mutual security and our reciprocal trade agreements legislation leaves no margin for error. These are not merely useful suggestions or helpful hints.

They are iron imperatives of security and the building of true peace.

Of course, in the last analysis, the success of our efforts for peace depends heavily on our relations with the Soviet Union. We urgently want these relations improved.

We have urged that orderly preparatory discussions be undertaken to lay the groundwork for a productive high-level conference.

We have indicated a wide range of crucial topics on which we would be willing to work toward agreement.

A start has been made toward increased exchanges of people and ideas, through an agreement in principle recently concluded in Washington.

A greatly increased flow, in both directions, of leaders of thought in the two countries

would be productive in making the voices of our two peoples more influential than are the pronouncements of governments. In line with this thought I suggested, in a recent letter, that visitors to us by such non-governmental Soviet leaders would be welcomed.

Another American proposal is that, beginning perhaps with cooperative projects aimed at conquering major diseases, we might embark upon a broad program of Science for Peace, which would raise the level of scientific knowledge and achievement all over the world.

Moreover, our country proposes that we seek without delay to work out practical mechanisms to insure that outer space will be devoted only to peaceful uses.

We will spare no exertion, we will neglect no approach — with the people of the Soviet Union, as with those of the free world — whenever there is any promise of another step, large or small, toward a world of prosperity, justice and harmony.

Conclusion

In conclusion, my fellow Americans, the action I would like to ask of you is simple. It is your fullest support of the pending programs of mutual military and economic aid.

Success in these fields, as always in a democracy, depends on you.

It depends on the fullest understanding by every American of the importance of these programs to our country, as well as an understanding of the hopes and needs and views of our friends overseas. It depends not only on what we are willing to give, but on what we are willing to receive and learn from others. It depends on our realization of the indispensable role played by mutual aid to produce a safe and peaceful world.

And remember this: as our aid program goes forward with your support, people all over the world will know that it is not a maneuver carried out by a dictator — rather it is an expression of good will and basic common sense coming from the voluntary act of a free people.

This is no time for shortsighted narrowness. The array of leaders of both parties who have come together here today is eloquent proof that on this issue partisanship has indeed taken a holiday. The urgency of the times and the opportunity before us call for greatness of spirit transcending all party considerations.

The tasks of building and sustaining a mighty military shield are hard, and tremendously costly. The tasks of patiently building a sound peace in a sound world are less costly, but even harder.

Americans have always shown a greatness of spirit and capacity of understanding equal to the demands of both war and peace. Americans will show these qualities now, and in the years ahead.

OPENING REMARKS

*The Hon. Eric Johnston
Chairman of the Conference*



Fabian Bachrach

It was my great privilege, at the request of the President of the United States, to invite you to this Conference on Foreign Aspects of United States National Security.

Now I have the pleasure of bidding you welcome.

At the outset of our meeting, I should like to present two fellow citizens who have given generously of their time and energies to make this conference possible—my Co-Chairmen: Mrs. Ellen Harris of Denver, Colorado, former National Co-Chairman of Citizens for Eisenhower, and Mr. Erle Cocke, Jr. of Atlanta, Georgia, former National Commander of the American Legion.

It seems to me fitting, as we open today's discussions, to state as simply as possible why we are here—why the President proposed this citizen assembly and what we hope to accomplish as the day progresses.

We have come here to discuss a fundamental aspect of our national policy—the Free World's mutual security—the security of our own country in a troubled world.

We have come here to explore as deeply as we can the root and substance of America's security in this year of 1958 and for the years ahead.

We are here to seek information about policies and plans, about objectives and purposes of mutual security. We are here to inform ourselves and to take this information back to our own communities, there to be discussed and considered by the American people.

And why are we doing this? We are doing this because we feel that mutual security is a subject that is worth the most serious national attention. We are doing this because we know that a democracy's success depends on popular understanding. In a democracy, a policy is only as good as the people's understanding of it.

As we study our mutual security program today, we will find that there are two principal aspects—the military and the economic.

All of us know how much our safety and the Free World's safety depend on mutual military strength. We need the military for our common defense—to turn back any aggressor who might plan to march in and take over.

But do all of us know that military strength is not enough? It resolves nothing. It is a negative force. What it does is to buy us time for a positive, affirmative course to bring about conditions essential to peace.

In seeking this course, the economic aspects of mutual security are vital. They alone can provide stability in the new third world—a world which today occupies one-third of the earth's land area and where one-third of its people live. In this underdeveloped third world, economic growth and development is the primary concern. And here the primary threat from aggressors comes in economic mufti, not in military olive drab.

In our deliberations today, this area of economics will deserve our closest attention. It is our most difficult area. It is here that we really have so much to learn—and perhaps not so much time to learn it.

This day is the beginning, only a beginning. It is a moment in which we might plant seeds. The seeds, if we wish to plant them, will need our devoted care and cultivation in the days, the months, and the years ahead. I think we can make these seeds germinate and grow. I think we have come here because we deeply believe this.

In an unprecedented way, our honored speakers and our eminent guests testify to the significance of our meeting. But, in my opinion, the most impressive thing about this assembly is neither our notable guests nor our head table. What impresses me most are you, all of you, from all parts of our country, who have come here to join in this forum.

At this meeting there is only one status and only one commitment for each of us. The status is our American citizenship. The commitment is the love of our beloved country.

THE FREE WORLD and MUTUAL SECURITY

*The Hon. John Foster Dulles
Secretary of State*



Dep't. of State Photo: Whit Keith, Jr.

Mr. Johnston, ladies and gentlemen of this conference. I want first of all to express my deep appreciation to you for being here. I can assure you that it is a tremendous inspiration to those of us who work on a day-by-day basis here in Washington to know that so many outstanding citizens throughout our nation are prepared to come here to discuss together this problem of mutual security, and we hope to go back throughout the country preaching that gospel. And I want to thank you, Eric, and your co-chairmen for having organized this conference. It can and I think will play an indispensable part in the formulation of critical foreign policies at a decisive moment in history.

As I stand here, my thoughts inevitably go back to a day almost exactly 10 years ago when I stood with Secretary Marshall at the National Cathedral and participated in one of a series of nationwide religious gatherings designed to rally support for the European Recovery Program. That program was a program which had its inspiration and its prosecution on a bipartisan or nonpartisan basis. And so it is that, as it was carried on during this decade and is projected into the future, it retains the bipartisan character which is essential to make it an acceptable, durable and successful policy. You here today will see ample evidence of that bipartisan support as you hear the President, and a former President, of the United States, one Republican and one Democrat; the Republican Vice President of the United States and one who has twice been the candidate of the Democratic Party for the Presidency; and a Democratic and now a Republican Secretary of State.

This is a national effort without partisan characteristics whatsoever, and as such, it can and will continue, and will succeed.

Now there are a good many reasons for supporting this Mutual Security Program. I will mention very briefly only a few of them.

There is, first of all, a very elemental reason. This program gives employment to about 600,000 Americans. There seems to be an idea in some quarters that the money appropriated for the Mutual Security Program is in some way taken abroad and spent there. Of course,

that is not the fact. The money which is spent for the Mutual Security Program virtually in its entirety is immediately spent in the United States, and it creates jobs, it does not take away jobs from the American people.

A Deterrent Power

But, of course, there are reasons far transcending that in importance. This Mutual Security Program assures to the United States the use of bases throughout the world which are absolutely indispensable for our security, our safety, the deterring of war and the preservation of peace. The deterrent power of the United States would not be adequate, would be subject to elimination by a sudden blow, if it were confined merely to the United States, based merely upon the United States. It is absolutely indispensable that there be bases dispersed around the world in order to have the diversification and the geographical sites dispersed, from which retaliatory power could take off.

That is secured for us by the Mutual Security Program. And let me make clear this: that to have these bases, it is not enough to have the physical possession or occupancy of certain pieces of land. It is not enough to have a paper with writing on it which says that you can use a base. It is absolutely indispensable for the effective use of these vital areas that they be bases not just of military power but bases of good will, friendship and cooperation.

So it is that the various features of this Act are in that respect interlocked because not only do they provide for the bases upon which the Free World depends for the deterring of war, but they help to assure that these bases will be friendly bases. I assure you that no base is of any value whatsoever if it is a base located in hostile territory or where the surrounding people are unfriendly. Such a base is a liability and not an asset.

And then there is a third reason. This Mutual Security Program helps to maintain in existence forces around the world which are largely contributed by allied nations. They have, for example, nearly five million ground forces around the world which help to hold various strategic areas and to deter attack upon them. Eighty per cent or more of the cost of that is borne by our allies. We make a contribution of around 20 per cent, perhaps. But the whole, the 100 per cent, is an effective defense of the United States because, make no mistake about it, if there is attack anywhere in the world, that is an attack which is designed immediately or indirectly, presently or prospectively, to injure, and be an attack against, the United States. We are the target.

Well, now, there is another aspect of mutual security and that is that the Mutual Security Program contributes to keeping out of the tentacles of Communist imperialism many countries of the world, newly independent in great part, underdeveloped in great part, which are coveted by communism as part of its program. The Communist program was announced a long time ago and was only recently reaffirmed. It is designed to encircle, and eventually to strangle, the United States. Already that strategy has worked to the extent of bringing nearly one billion people within its control. The purpose is to go on and on until finally, as I say, the United States is encircled and ultimately there is economic strangulation. At that point Mr. Stalin remarked that the remnants of capitalism might, and he put it in quotes, "voluntarily" give in to communism.

Only recently, as you know, Mr. Khrushchev announced: We declare war upon you, not military war but economic war, and in that we are relentless and are determined to win.

These countries, as Mr. Johnston has pointed out, have to a large extent recently won their political independence, but that is not enough because there is throughout this area, as a result of gaining political independence, a tremendous expectation that something now is going to happen, something better is going to happen in terms of the economic life of the people who for so many generations seem to have been caught in a morass of hopeless poverty. Unless

something can be done about that within the Free World, inevitably they will be caught in the trap of communism, not only to their ultimate disaster, their exploitation, but to the ultimate undoing of the United States itself.

Well, those are some reasons, and they add up to a pretty compelling list: the deterring of war, the maintaining of peace, the preservation for the United States of an environment in which we ourselves can live happily and securely. Surely those are goals worth seeking.

A Counter Challenge

But there is something beyond that. You know this threat from international communism is a pretty formidable affair. It is formidable primarily because it represents the belief, the fanatical belief, of a group of people who feel that they have hold of something which is going to enable them to dominate the world. You cannot account for the fact that a group of people who 41 years ago controlled nothing now control about a third of the world's population. You cannot explain that just by technicalities, that they did this, they did that or the other thing. That kind of thing emanates from a dynamic belief. And that kind of a challenge can only be met successfully by a counterchallenge, a counterchallenge of a faith that is held more intensely and that is a greater and a truer faith.

These reasons that I have given are not alone, or in the aggregate, adequate because they are purely defensive. We are never going to cope with this situation by defensive measures or by a defensive spirit. There has got to be a dynamic spirit, and unless the specific things that we do are encompassed within that spirit, then I fear that they will fail.

Where in the world is that spirit to be found if it is not to be found within our own country? That indeed is the very foundation of our nation. Our founders did not organize this Republic as a small, selfish area of security and well-being. They founded this nation as a great experiment in human liberty which would extend itself throughout the world. Our Declaration of Independence proclaimed not merely a political fact. It proclaimed that all men are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights. And when our nation was in process of formation, those who advocated it did so on the ground, as set forth in the opening paragraph of the Federalist Papers, that it seemed reserved to the American people by their conduct and example to show that there can be organized a good society of free men and upon the success or failure of our experiment will depend the fate of humanity.

And when George Washington gave us his Farewell Address, he said that we must so use this blessing of liberty that it will be sought for and adopted by all the peoples of the world who do not yet have such liberty.

I have often quoted a statement made by Abraham Lincoln with reference to our Declaration of Independence, in an impromptu speech which he made at Philadelphia on the way to be inaugurated in Washington. He said about the Declaration of Independence:

"It was not the mere matter of the separation of the colonies from the motherland but something in that Declaration giving liberty not alone to the people of this country but hope for the world for all future time. It was that which gave promise that in due time the weight should be lifted from the shoulders of all men and that all should have an equal chance."

And he went on to add,

"I was about to say that I would rather be assassinated on this spot than to surrender that concept of our Declaration of Independence."

Well, that is the spirit that we need today. It is nothing new. It is the American concept of mission, of dedication, not just to ourselves, not to our selfish welfare, but a dedication to bring the blessings of liberty to all men everywhere.

So, as we support for one reason or another specific reason this Mutual Security Program I hope that the American people — and you will have a great part in determining that — I hope that the American people will have a rebirth of the faith, the dedication with which our nation was founded, which represented for so long a time what was known the world over as the "Great American Experiment." This is the time to revive, to renew the great American experiment; and as we think of others, we will in that way be most apt to save ourselves.

Thank you.

WHAT KIND of WORLD FOR OUR CHILDREN?



The Hon. Adlai E. Stevenson

I have come here today to say that I think foreign aid is an essential weapon in the armory of American diplomacy and an essential tool for accomplishing America's peaceful purposes.

It is not often, as you may have noticed, that I can agree with the Administration so wholeheartedly. Indeed, we have had some sharp disagreements. I think of Brooks Hays' story about that stubborn old Ozark moonshiner who was apprehended and hauled into court for the tenth time. The exasperated judge exploded. "Man, you have caused this court more trouble and you have cost the taxpayers more money than anyone ever did before, and this time I'm going to sentence you to the full extent of the law. Have you anything to say?" The grizzled old fellow shifted his tobacco and said: "Well, Judge, I may have caused you some trouble, but no more than you have caused me."

I feel a little like that about the Administration that has arranged this meeting today. But it is one of the greatest blessings of our party system that what unites us is usually more important than what divides us. And that is especially true today because there is nothing, literally nothing — nuclear weapons, ballistic missiles, atomic powered submarines — more important than what unites us here today, Democrats and Republicans alike.

I don't think this meeting should ever have been held; I don't think it should have been necessary to stir up public support and pressure on Congress to vote some money for foreign economic aid which is just as imperative, in my judgment more so, than the defense appropriations that are voted so easily. And that's what I've come to talk about—economic aid as distinguished from foreign military assistance and defense support, about which the Secretary of Defense and others will doubtless speak to you. I wish it had never been called "foreign aid"; I wish it had been labeled economic defense, foreign investment or economic development. For that's what it is, and my assignment is to talk about funds for technical assistance to the underdeveloped countries, funds for loans for basic economic development and grants for special projects and emergencies—in all less than a billion dollars, not a fourth of what the President is asking for mutual security altogether, and only about 2 per cent of what we are spending on our defense establishment alone.

Economic Defense Essential

But its merit isn't just that it is relatively inexpensive. Its merit is that it is essential; military defense and improving economic conditions in the uncommitted countries are not alternatives—they are both essential. Does anyone really think that the Soviet Union, for example, would deliberately launch a direct attack against this country—if our defense and retaliatory capability is adequate? But does anyone doubt that Communist political—economic—psychological probing and penetration will go on and on all around the world? Does anyone doubt that they will nibble away at the Free World and progressively isolate us if they can? Does anyone doubt that they are making a massive effort to tip the scales of power in the decisive areas—in the 18 countries that have recently won independence and among the third of all mankind with a per capita income of less than \$100? Does anyone doubt that they are succeeding after what has happened in a few years from North Africa to Indo-China? They have even won elections in important states in India and Indonesia.

I say, and I hope you agree, that the Soviet-Chinese bid by aid, trade, propaganda and subversion to win these uncommitted areas is far more dangerous than Soviet missiles or Chinese manpower just now. This is the hot war now and we have been losing ground in the underdeveloped countries which Lenin and Stalin (and Khrushchev, I suspect) believed to be the decisive stepping stones, first to the domination of Europe and ultimately of the world. A progressive weakening of our position in these areas in the next few years, coupled with dramatic Soviet advances in the military field, will further neutralize sentiment among many of our friends. And the enhancement of Soviet prestige in the uncommitted areas as a result of Sputnik and Russian educational achievements cannot be exaggerated.

Obviously this isn't just a contest with communism. Our interest in the independence of these vast areas would be just as vital if Russia and China were still governed by imperial Czars and Emperors.

Everyone testifies that in the long run the only way to stop Communist expansion is to create strong, healthy states resolved to keep their independence and capable of resisting. This cannot be done by military aid alone. Indeed I believe overemphasis on military assistance and defense pacts furthers Communist success by lending credibility to the propaganda that we are warmongers and interested only in buying military allies.

Well, if all this is so why is there any hesitation about helping these countries to modernize their ancient societies, to develop economically and thereby fulfill the aspirations of their people for human dignity and a tolerable standard of living?

Lack of Understanding

I can't answer that question, unless the imperative importance of economic development with our help and by our methods instead of Soviet methods is not fully understood. And that, I suppose, is why we are here.

I would argue that at no time has the principle of foreign aid been of greater significance or more directly served the interests of the United States than it does today. For the full scale of the Communist challenge is only now becoming apparent—some \$2 billion of credits and grants—mostly for economic assistance—since 1955. In 1957 they sent over 2,000 technicians to 19 countries, 400 to India alone. Last year they brought more than 2,000 trainees to Communist countries for technical training. Much of this aid has gone to key countries—India, Afghanistan, Indonesia, Egypt and Syria. The purpose is obvious—to bring about economic dependence in strategic areas which will sooner or later lead to political subservience.

And the Communists have many advantages in this contest with their lower costs, their large pool of specialists, and their power to inflict sacrifices on their people. They also have advantages in the appeal which their own recent history of rapid development offers to backward lands, in their capacity to absorb agricultural surpluses in trade arrangements with underdeveloped countries, their language facility, and their closer identification with poor and backward peoples.

But even if the Communists were to call off their campaign of economic and political penetration the need for our effort to help these emerging nations make the transition to modern, viable economies would remain. For so long as a billion people in this shrinking world see no hope of fulfilling their impatient demands for a better life, the threat of disorder, desperate measures and dictatorship remains, and there can be no real hope for the secure peace the world is yearning for.

The importance of economic aid has been enhanced in this last year by another development. While Soviet offers of loans and trade have been increasing, opportunities for trade with the West have been dangerously cut. The countries along the Asian fringe depend heavily upon the export of primary products. Their expansion and their hopes of further industrial development have been buoyed up in the last decade as a result of the commerce stimulated by the booming economic conditions in the West. But in the last year the trend has been reversed. Export income for primary producers fell by some \$600-\$700 million in 1957 alone, and this, I need hardly point out, is a figure largely in excess of any aid the countries received from the West during that period.

In other words, economic opportunities in the Communist Bloc are increasing at a time when Western opportunities are shrinking. We should indeed compound disaster if at this time, having cut trade, we cut aid as well. Thus the stagnant state of our economies makes our foreign aid program more urgent than ever.

Nor, frankly, is this only a matter of strategic or diplomatic interest. We should have learned by this time that the most developed countries are the best customers and that by helping to develop those large and growing areas, we are at the same time helping ourselves. For we are helping to create new opportunities for mutually profitable trade and investment and to obtain more dependable sources of the vital raw materials on which we are becoming increasingly dependent. Moreover, the economic fortunes of thousands of our own people are tied up with the continuance of foreign aid. In any year, our steady tendency is to sell more than we buy. In present conditions of trade, the surplus which America runs with the rest of the world rarely falls below a billion dollars a year and can rise to as much as \$3 or \$4 billion. In the last year the dollar gap has reopened sharply since domestic recession has cut American purchases abroad.

In these conditions, foreign aid, which places dollars in the hands of important customers overseas, is one means of protecting our great export industries from a sharp cut in our overseas commerce. I sometimes think that those who speak contemptuously of economic aid programs as "handouts" do not always realize in which hands the "handout" ultimately comes to rest—for it is very largely the hands of the workers and stockholders engaged in export industry, and a sizable number of American farmers as well.

Need For Improvement

But please don't misunderstand me. From what I have said I wouldn't want you to conclude that I am wholly satisfied with our foreign aid program, past or present. I'm

not. And I have, I confess, some sympathy for those in and out of Congress who have hesitated over our foreign aid policies in recent years.

These programs have only marginally fulfilled their task and certainly have offered no very hopeful pointers to the future. They have been geared in too high a degree to purely military considerations. They have contained no guarantee of future continuance. They have thus been unsuitable as a basis for long term economic growth. They have in short been wavering and haphazard. Though they have done something, they have certainly not done enough.

But we have begun to realize that if foreign aid is to make its full contribution to the growth of a more stable world, it must be on a sustained, thought-through and coordinated basis. The Development Fund for loans on a sustained basis is a reflection of this thinking, and I emphatically approve this new approach.

We know something now about the rhythms of development toward a modernized technical economy. Our aim should be to assist the underdeveloped and emergent nations to achieve a level of domestic saving which has a chance of becoming self-sustaining. The difficulty is that the poverty of so many of these communities in Asia and Africa makes the original act of saving virtually impossible. Saving is non-consumption, and if consumption standards are low enough, to consume less can mean simple extinction.

The progressive role that development investment can play is to push these emergent economies through the first stages of capital accumulation. In each economy, the needs will vary, though we can make a good guess that roads, transportation, power, water supplies and planning surveys will be among the first necessities. As the capital from outside helps to build up these first levels of investment, local capacity to save will increase, and as domestic savings rise and private investment opportunities increase, the aid programs can taper off. Such a concept gives a beginning, a middle and an end to our efforts and sees to it that at the end, we leave behind not Cadillacs and file boxes but the solid economic apparatus of a modern state.

I believe we have made a start toward this phased, sustained and thought-through concept of foreign aid, and it is this approach which I most heartily support as the future shape of our operations. In it I see more than a means of diplomacy or an underpinning of our own economic stability. I see it as a new and characteristic American contribution to the science of good human relations and to the exciting experiment of living together in a world made one by science and technology.

Recommendations

I would hope that this conference might conclude that the primary problem is growth; that the threat of communism in the underdeveloped areas is less military than it is economic, political and moral; that the need in these critical areas is social and economic modernization. I believe a powerful and sound case can be made to Congress and the country for a program to promote economic and social health and self-reliance without military strings. And such a program should include, in my opinion, the following:

First—This year the full \$625 million requested should be appropriated to the Economic Development Fund, and next year the Fund should be put on a permanent basis so that it can plan investments forward for some years, not merely on a project basis but in terms of the total requirements of the receiving nation. Our emphasis should be on loans, not gifts, where feasible. You remember Confucius' question: "Why do you dislike me? I have never done anything to help you."

Second—We must make clear our support for the Indian 5-year plan on a long-term basis and enlist other nations to do likewise so that the Indians can proceed with reasonable confidence that they can achieve their essential objectives. India—twice the size of the Marshall Plan world—will need a sustained support to get over the hump. If we fail there, our cause will suffer grievously.

Third—We should explore methods of increasing private capital investment, although risk capital can't and won't begin to do the job of basic development—roads, power, transportation, schools, etc. But with strong government leadership and with a steady flow of government capital, private investment will have an enlarging role to play.

Fourth—We must learn to use our surpluses of food and fiber as a major constructive resource in economic development, not as charity but as working capital—to enable men to divert their labor from agriculture to roads, dams, power stations and the like without creating an inflationary demand for food and clothing. Our great agricultural productivity is a source of strength if we have the wit to use it.

Fifth—I think it is time we coordinated our economic affairs with our friends instead of all going it alone. The whole of the industrialized free world has the same interest in seeing the underdeveloped areas make the transition to self-sustaining growth while maintaining their independence. This is a global enterprise; and it should be organized on that basis. For Western Europe and Japan this coordination would give a badly needed sense of common constructive purpose at a time when military problems alone seem to hold the center of the international stage. Moreover, coordination would also make possible useful contributions from some of the smaller states of the Free World.

I do not believe it is necessary to set up a single international fund. But the governments of the Free World should gather, assess what they are doing, and make common cause in enlarging their efforts in both technical assistance and the supply of capital. Before the NATO Conference, I suggested that the OEEC in Paris might offer a useful gathering place for this new enterprise. That organization, a product of the Marshall Plan, has the flexibility, the staff, and the tradition of constructive purpose to do the job. I am confident that from such collaboration a new spirit would emerge in the Free World, a new sense of the powers and constructive possibilities of democracy, a unity based on hope rather than fear.

Sixth—Against the background of an enlarged and stabilized American program, weaving together the great resources of the industrialized nations, giving play to private as well as government initiative, we could well invite Mr. Khrushchev to coordinate his efforts with ours if he is really interested in the economic development and political independence of these less fortunate countries. Such cooperation—and I hope we leave no stone unturned in our effort to cooperate—could avoid the waste and hazard of blackmail that results from competition in this kind of effort. And if the Soviets are not interested in joining our international effort, such an offer would at least unmask the motives behind their assistance programs.

Great Moment In History

A final word—and perhaps the most important. I hope we Americans will cease to be ashamed of generosity and magnanimity. No nation ever before approached what this one has done to help others help themselves, and not by any means just in self-protection either. Why don't we glory in it? Why aren't we proud of it? Why do we ridicule our best instincts? I have said before and I repeat that I haven't seen any repeal of the command to love your neighbor.

But of course we all know that it is a matter of enlightened self-interest for the United States to throw the weight of its resources into the economic development of the transitional areas of Asia, the Middle East, and Africa. We know that the loss of these areas to communism would have incalculable consequences. We know that our economy is increasingly dependent on imported materials. We know that Western Europe and Japan, even more, need an expanding world market if they are to continue healthy. And if we doubt the reality of these immediate interests, measure the costs, in all directions, of the engulfment of China by communism.

But there is something more to be said and understood. We live at an exciting moment in world history. The next half century will be full of change and growth and rising aspiration. Industrial maturity takes some five or six decades. That was what it took Britain from the beginning of the Industrial Revolution, then the United States commencing with the Civil War, then Japan. And it has taken Russia about 50 years from the great revolt against feudalism in 1905 to launch Sputnik. But the rhythm of modernization is faster now. We can assume that China and India, which number about half the human race, will reach industrial maturity by the end of the century. And what about all those other scores of millions in Asia, the Middle East, Africa and Latin America?

This is one of the great watersheds of history. At the turn of the twenty-first century it is certain that there will be in those areas great, powerful nations, capable of applying to their resources all that modern science can afford. Our children and our grandchildren will share the planet with the citizens of these newer nations.

What kind of world will that be? Will it be dominated by new and bitter conflicts, rooted in bitter memories from a difficult colonial past, in memories of racial discrimination, in memories of painful difficulty faced alone during the awkward transition to modernization? Or will it be a world held together by bonds of common humanity, by memories of shared adventure during the period of transition, by a common respect for the dignity and stature of the individual human being, by a common will to maintain a regime of international order on this tiny planet?

I am deeply convinced that the outcome depends on what the governments and peoples of the industrialized world do now—over the next decade—not on what is done a half century from now. The peoples of Asia, the Middle East, and Africa are now gathering momentum; the new nations are now defining their inner character and purpose; what we do or fail to do now will thus cast long shadows.

In this very precise and concrete sense, the present generation in the West bears a heavy and inescapable responsibility for the kind of world in which their children and grandchildren will live. This is the ultimate stake—the ultimate interest—in what we call, so inadequately, foreign aid.

MILITARY ASSISTANCE

The Hon. Neil H. McElroy
Secretary of Defense



U.S. Army Photo

I am glad to have the opportunity to meet with you this morning to discuss the importance of the Military Assistance Program and its part in our overall defense. If this nation is going to retain its freedom and strength in the critical years ahead, its citizens must have the knowledge and understanding which will lead them to support the steps that must be taken. The Mutual Security Program is an essential part of our national security, and I am grateful that citizens to whom so many of our people look for guidance have come here today to learn more about it.

In 1950, the active Army ground forces of the allies with whom we are today joined in collective defense numbered about three and a half million men, most of whom were inadequately trained and equipped. Now, according to latest available estimates, there are 4.7 million men in the Army ground forces of these same allies—an increase of 34 per cent. Moreover, the men in these forces are far better trained and organized than were the troops of 1950. They have better equipment and support facilities and their morale is at a much higher level.

In the naval forces of these allies in 1950 were about 1,200 combatant vessels. Today there are 2,500 combatant vessels, an increase of 108 per cent. In 1950, they had a total of about 16,000 conventional aircraft, and some 600 jets. Their forces today are equipped with 18,000 conventional aircraft, and the number of jet planes has increased to about 14,000—23 times as many as they had in 1950. They have many more and better airfields, and improved communications and early warning systems.

Much of the explanation of the impressive growth and modernization of these allied forces is to be found in the Military Assistance Program. Under this program begun in 1950 with bipartisan support, the United States is now furnishing guns, tanks, naval vessels, aircraft and in some cases missiles to more than 40 countries. We are also providing extensive training to most of these allied forces, as well as support to military research and development on the part of European countries of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

It is not difficult to see what this means to us in terms of military strength and defense readiness, or how these forces, located at strategic points around the globe, help us meet the threat that faces the United States and the Free World.

We well remember how following World War II the United States and its Free World allies rapidly adjusted both our economic and military establishments to peacetime levels. The same was not true in every nation of the world; the Soviet Union continued to maintain a great and powerful military machine.

Today the forces that can be marshalled against us include the largest land army in the world, and a navy, the second largest in the world, which includes the largest peacetime submarine force in history—about 500 submarines, as compared to the 58 that Hitler had in operation at the start of World War II. They include an air fleet which is rapidly growing in size and effectiveness, and an ever-increasing missile and nuclear capability.

These forces are constantly being modernized; and in the past year we have seen dramatic evidence that an advanced scientific capability has been developed which seriously threatens our superiority in the crucial area of research and development of future weapons systems.

Critical Period

We are entering a period when in the event of total war between the two great powers catastrophic destruction could result. The United States and its allies are determined to maintain such power and such readiness that it will be clear to any potential attacker that the price of a massive surprise attack would be a counterblow of devastating effectiveness. So long as we are able to maintain this position, the likelihood of all-out nuclear warfare will, barring a miscalculation, remain relatively remote.

But, this does not mean that communism will abandon its avowed objective of world domination. We can expect it rather to intensify efforts in other fields where in its view the price of conflict would not be so high. This accounts for its increased use of economic penetration, subversion and threats of local aggression. Recent targets of these forms of action include Syria, Egypt, Yemen, and Indonesia. A classic example is Syria, where during the past year the Communists introduced large shipments of military equipment and training personnel, accompanied by vigorous efforts at subversion and a storm of fabricated charges directed at Syria's Free World neighbors.

The answer to the localized threat—the nibbling away at our allies and at the uncommitted countries of the world—lies in large part in the Mutual Security Program of *economic* aid, which is being discussed with you by others, and the collective defense system strengthened by our Military Assistance Program. The forces of some of our allies are of importance to us in maintaining our deterrent ability; all of them are of crucial importance in providing effective resistance against the threat of subversion and local aggression, and in serving to maintain that condition of local security essential for political and economic growth.

With changes in the nature of the threat and improvement in the economic self-sufficiency of some of our allies, the application of our program has shifted. For example, in the early 1950's more than three-fourths of our shipments of military equipment went to our NATO allies in Western Europe; during the current year, about two-thirds of such shipments are being made to countries in the Middle East and Far East, including Greece, Turkey, Iraq, Iran and Pakistan in the Middle East and Taiwan, Korea and Viet-Nam in the Far East.

The funds we have available for this program are limited, and their wise expenditure is the responsibility of the Department of Defense, under the policy guidance of the Department of State. Selection of the nations to be aided is based in large part on military force objectives established by the Joint Chiefs of Staff and is designed to meet United States strategic objectives. These force objectives are under periodic review.

The extent of our support of the force objectives is determined after thorough consideration of many interdependent factors in the military, economic and political sphere. We seek only to maintain and modernize these allied forces at a rate consistent with our own resources and the ability of our allies to use and maintain the equipment. The program for each year is prepared with full realization that, in the development of Free World military capability, we must bear in mind that we face a struggle extending over many years in which victory may fall to the side with the greatest staying power. Consequently, both the United States and its allies must shape their military programs so as not to jeopardize long-term political and economic stability.

For Defense Only

Also, as a matter of national policy, military equipment so furnished is made available solely to maintain the security and legitimate self-defense of the recipient nations, and to permit them to participate in the defense of the area or in collective security arrangements which are consistent with the Charter of the United Nations. Before we deliver equipment, it is our policy to require that the receiving nations agree that they themselves will contribute as much as their economic condition will permit to the development and maintenance of their own defensive strength and the defensive strength of the Free World; and that they will do everything possible to assure the effective use of the assistance we are furnishing them under this program.

Since 1950 when the program began we have spent almost \$20 billion on military assistance. During the last four-year period we have been spending at a rate of just over \$2 billion a year; approximately the same level of expenditures is envisioned for the next 2 or 3 years. This rate of spending represents more than one-half of our so-called "foreign aid," or about 3 cents on every dollar of federal taxes paid. Approximately 85 per cent of all of these military assistance funds have been spent right here in the United States principally for the purchase of military hardware delivered to our allies. Thus, the largest portion of these expenditures have been plowed back into the American economy.

It should be remembered that the United States is by no means bearing the full cost of these military forces. Important as our contribution has been in building the strength of our Allied forces since 1950, we have not borne even the major part of the cost. This impressive achievement has been accomplished by a joint effort. During the period of our contribution of almost \$20 billion, our allies receiving such assistance have spent \$105 billion in the joint defense effort. Thus, the nations receiving grant military assistance from the United States, of which there are over 40, have together spent for their defense about \$5 for every dollar that we have contributed to their military establishments.

It is clear that the strength which the Military Assistance Program has helped develop has been achieved by a much smaller expenditure of our resources than would have been possible had we tried to do the job alone. Further evidence of this can be seen clearly by comparing the cost to pay, house, feed and clothe a United States soldier with the same costs for soldiers of our allies. As of last year, the cost for an American soldier was \$3,515 annually, not including the weapons, equipment, transportation and other expenditures which go into making him an effective fighting man in any part of the world. By contrast, the cost to pay, house, feed and clothe a French soldier was \$1,440; a Pakistani, \$485; a Greek, \$424; and a Nationalist Chinese, \$147.

We cannot know how much the strength represented by allied forces would have cost the United States had we tried to create it entirely with our own resources. But beyond question, if we had not helped our allies develop that strength, for our own security as well as for

them, we would have had to make much greater defense expenditures, and would have had to maintain many more men under arms, with a considerably larger proportion of them overseas. Moreover, all these efforts would not have produced the defensive strength we have today.

Changing Requirements

Like our own defense effort, the Military Assistance Program is constantly being adjusted to changing requirements inspired by technological advances. This year, for example, we are increasing the delivery of various air defense and surface-to-surface missiles to allies able effectively to use and maintain the equipment.

In the Fiscal Year 1959 Program now before Congress, we expect to concentrate proportionately more of our effort in modernization and less in maintenance costs. These latter are to an increasing degree being absorbed by the recipient countries. In this connection you are, of course, familiar with the decisions reached at the NATO Heads of Government Meeting last December which recognized the need for deployment of Intermediate Range Ballistic Missiles to Europe. The agreement just concluded with the United Kingdom is similar to others which will measurably increase the capability for decisive military retaliation. The Military Assistance Program will play a vital role in providing part of the cost of the missiles systems furnished under these arrangements.

Though it is proper to consider the Military Assistance Program largely in terms of assistance to allies, I would like to add that the program also permits and encourages purchases of equipment from the United States by countries which have the ability to absorb the cost. The importance of these sales to our own defense budget is indicated by the fact that since 1950 our own tax dollars have been augmented by more than \$1 billion from such sales of equipment. Sales of this type during 1956 totaled \$79 million and for 1957 were \$812 million. This is another encouraging sign of the increasing capability of some of our allies to bear more and more of the burden of their defense forces.

Before concluding, let me mention briefly two or three benefits derived from the Military Assistance Program aside from its all-important contribution to the growth and modernization of allied forces.

One such benefit is the maintenance and protection of our worldwide network of over 250 major land, sea and air installations outside of the United States, made feasible and possible by this program. These bases are and for some years to come will continue to be of major importance to our defensive and retaliatory capability, modified as necessary with the introduction of more advanced aircraft and missile systems.

Another is the significant role the program has played in helping to assure the availability to us of overseas sources of raw materials necessary in our civilian economy and essential to our defense efforts.

Finally, the program has made an important contribution in the field of military research. For some years the United States has contributed support to programs for military research and development by NATO allies. As a result of decisions taken at last December's Heads of Government Meeting in Paris, the United States is taking further steps to stimulate the exchange of military research information, and is making available designs of advanced weapons selected by NATO countries for joint production abroad. This effort should in the long run measurably decrease NATO's reliance on the United States as almost the sole source of production for the more advanced types of weapons.

I hope my remarks have led you to share my conviction concerning the importance of the Military Assistance Program. Without question it is an integral and vital part of our own

defense effort. It provides us with much more security at less cost than if we were to attempt to attain the same capability through our own resources alone. It is my firm conviction, and that of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, that this program must be continued. Any slackening on our part would set the example of the most powerful nation in the Free World cutting down on security without regard to the realities of the threat, and would almost inevitably result in a dangerous lessening in the will and capability of our allies to resist. The risk to the United States in such a course is clearly unwarranted and would be highly dangerous to our national security.

Thank you.



Lottie Jacobi

The SOVIET ECONOMIC and TRADE OFFENSIVE

*The Hon. Allen W. Dulles
Director of Central Intelligence*

The subject assigned to me this morning is the Soviet economic and trade offensive. I shall broaden the term "Soviet" to include what we often refer to as the Communist Bloc, that is, the Soviet Union, the European Satellites, and Communist China. Each plays a role in the economic and trade offensive of international communism.

As Director of the Central Intelligence Agency, it is not my task to recommend policies. It is rather to analyze as accurately as possible and present the facts as a basis for determining policy.

This I purpose to do in describing the Communist trade and aid offensive.

It is not always easy to get the facts regarding the Communist world. They throw a shroud of secrecy and security around all sensitive areas of their policies and actions. In the field of their trade and aid, however, many of the basic facts are well known. Of course they try to keep secret the details of the arrangements among the countries in the Communist Bloc. Also they are not anxious for the facts to be known about some of their arms deals with countries outside of their bloc.

However, as regards the Soviet's general aims and objectives in the field of economic and trade penetration, their actions and the public assertions of their leaders are a helpful guide.

Too often people tend to ignore the statements of those whose credibility they may have reason to question. Many years ago, Hitler in *Mein Kampf* wrote what he proposed to do. He did it. Little attention was paid to his book until after he had gone to war.

In the case of the Soviet Union there has been an extraordinary consistency over the years in basic policy declarations and subsequent actions of the Communist leadership.

The statement issued by the Soviet Union and their allies and satellites in Moscow last November on the fortieth anniversary of the Bolshevik revolution might well have been written by Lenin. The declaration of the recent Afro-Asian Conference in Cairo was on all fours with the program of the Congress of the Peoples of the East which the Soviet held in Baku in 1920. Lenin himself predicted in 1923 that the outcome of the struggle would be determined by the population masses of Russia, India and China.

Changing Tactics

Tactics change—the timetable is altered as circumstances demand. The over-all objectives and strategy remain much the same.

The evidence as we now see it indicates that the USSR, in striving toward their objectives, do not propose to use their military power in a manner which would involve the grave risk of war. They probably still estimate that our power of retaliation could more than match their offense. They have a healthy respect for our nuclear capability and our means of delivering nuclear weapons.

In any event they have now alerted us to the dangers which lie in their growing military capabilities; they have shaken any complacency, and shown us that we could not always expect to be first in all phases of military endeavor. They have the skills—scientific and technical—to do in the military field what we can do. If they work on a particular project for longer hours with more manpower and with more equipment—human and material—than we, they can accomplish a particular objective before we do. This should have been accepted as axiomatic because neither the United States nor any other country has any monopoly on brains.

Their Sputniks and missiles have also taught us that we cannot afford to be second best in any important military field.

This particular conference will be considering whether we can afford to be *second* to the Soviet in supporting friends and allies and in our relations with the uncommitted newly developing countries of the world which look abroad for help in their industrialization and in all that goes to raising the standard of life.

The President in his recent message to the Congress cited the three major objectives of our Mutual Security Program. One of these was the forestalling of Communist subversion or massive economic penetration of other nations.

In pressuring for a period of relaxation of tensions and co-existence it seems clear that the Soviet desires this for two purposes: first, to build their military strength and to develop the highly complicated modern weapons—ballistic and nuclear—and, second, to press forward in the area where they probably consider us most vulnerable; the winning of the allegiance and eventually the control of the uncommitted nations of the world by trade and aid, and by subversion.

Victory Without a Shot

They probably estimate that if they can induce us to devote our resources almost exclusively to the military field, they can the more easily break our economic and cultural ties with other nations and win them over.

Today, February 25, is the tenth anniversary of the takeover of Czechoslovakia by communism. Not a shot was fired. It was not guided missiles but the so-called “guided democracy” which did the trick.

In Prague last July, Khrushchev said, “We can fight without bombs and we are convinced that our cause will be victorious.” He added that he would not predict in which countries communism would consolidate itself first but that once nations learned the advantages of socialism they will “organize and achieve a change in the social order.”

Our own grandsons, he recently predicted to an American correspondent, “will live under socialism in America, too.” Again, speaking at a reception at the Albanian Embassy last year he laid down the challenge: “If the capitalist gentlemen wish to help the backward nations as they constantly and clamorously declare, they are welcome to do this . . . The underdeveloped nations, however, must bear in mind that the capitalist never gave any-

thing gratuitously because this contradicts the very essence of capitalism." And, last October, he explained that the "wars are not necessary for the victory of socialism, capitalism will inevitably vanish from the historical arena just as was the case of feudalism which made room for capitalism."

These are the theories they openly preach to the world and they propose to go out into the world with missionaries of trade and aid to spread this doctrine.

While the Communist leaders have suppressed and liquidated more peoples of alien races and views within their area of control than any dictator or conqueror of the past, they ally themselves abroad with nationalistic aspirations. While they deny freedom to their satellites in Eastern Europe, they attack those countries which, like Britain, have voluntarily given freedom to many more peoples than the entire population of Russia itself.

We would be negligent, however, to ignore the fact that their trade and aid programs backed with subtle propaganda have had a significant impact. The farther removed a country is from any real appreciation of Soviet actions in their own area of domination, Hungary or East Germany for example, the greater is the impact of Soviet propaganda and of their deliveries of arms, of industrial products and "know how."

Target Areas

In effect, they will buy anything, trade anything, and dump anything if it advances communism or helps to destroy the influence of the West.

They are careful to choose the countries where they can tailor their program to the advancement of their political aims. But if this is demonstrable, the terms of trade and aid are seemingly attractive. Interest rates are low and, with good Communist-type behaviour on the part of the recipients, it may be entirely remitted.

The strings are invisible. They can move quickly. They have no budgetary limitations or legislative restrictions. Their only "Battle Act" is the battle to advance Communist aims. They have vast stores of obsolescent military equipment which looks new and shiny to countries in the infancy of military development. It can be given away without affecting the Soviet's own military position. They will take in barter payment agricultural products and raw materials which we, because of our surpluses, find it impracticable to accept.

Now, to get down to cases:

The total amount in credits and grants extended by the Sino-Soviet Bloc for economic development and military aid to countries in the Free World outside the Bloc over the last three years amounts to the equivalent of about \$2 billion.

Over 95 per cent of this aid has been concentrated on six countries—Afghanistan, Egypt, Syria, India, Indonesia and Yugoslavia. In these countries over the past two and a half years Soviet programs in aggregate have been more than double those of the Free World. Of course, many other countries have received attractive offers and many are today in the throes of deciding whether to decide to seek aid from the West or from the Soviet Bloc.

The Soviet programs have also included a large scale movement of technical personnel from the Communist Bloc to the Free World countries where aid is extended. More than 2,000 Bloc technicians are now active in nine of the newly developing countries in which United States comparable personnel number less than 1,000. Also large numbers of technicians are going from these countries to Moscow, Prague and Peiping for their training.

From the viewpoint of the strain on the Soviet economy and to enable comparison with the United States foreign aid effort, it is important also to consider Soviet aid to other members within the Communist Bloc.

Over the past decade more than \$1.6 billion has been pumped into China in the form of military credits and military hardware and perhaps as much as \$500 million has been given to Red China outright.

In addition, in the form of non-military aid, some \$3.7 billion has gone in loans and grants from the Soviet Union toward the development and reorientation into the Communist system of the basic economic programs of Communist-dominated countries. Of this, more than \$900 million went to Poland, \$650 million to East Germany, \$450 million to Communist China.

Bloc aid to North Korea since the armistice has totaled \$586 million, not including military materiel. This works out at \$73 per North Korean which, on a per capita basis, exceeds United States economic assistance to South Korea. A comparable effort has been made on behalf of North Viet-Nam.

Any attempt at analyzing the bookkeeping in the trade relations between the Soviet and the other Communist states is tricky business. The real value of the ruble is an unknown quantity and transferring ruble amounts to dollars is at best an estimate. These figures, however, give the order of magnitude of the trade and aid. They do not take account of certain other factors.

For example, the early stage of the relations between the Soviet and the Satellites and China saw the moving of captured plants and materials from these countries to the USSR to hasten Soviet post-war construction and rehabilitation. Many plants in these countries were operated under direct Soviet control and the output siphoned off to the USSR. Then, too, low prices were fixed by the Soviet on goods it purchased and high prices on the goods they sold to the Satellites and China.

Soviet Economy

This was during the Stalin period and the post-war reconstruction. Then the Soviet saw that they had to turn around and rebuild their subject empire, which was in partial ruins. As a result, today, while no firm balance sheet can be drawn, the European Satellites and Communist China represent a net drain on the Soviet economy and add somewhat to the financial burden of their aid program in the Free World.

Nevertheless we believe the Soviets can and will continue their programs in Free World countries at a scale at least as great as we now witness. Both intra-bloc and external programs combined will require less than one per cent of their gross national product. The net economic cost over a period of years will be even less than this because from this program they will receive some needed raw materials and consumer goods.

I mentioned the appeal of the Soviet program to the newly developing countries of the world. Many are too far away from Moscow to understand the meaning of Hungary, to analyze the dangers which communism spells for their newly found freedom.

They see that Russia, which economically and industrially was a backward country a couple of decades ago, has in some manner, mysterious to them, become in a relatively short space of time the second greatest industrial and military power of the world. They do not understand the cause. They do not realize that much of this has been achieved by profiting from the industrial revolution of the West; that it has been developed at the expense of the standards of living of the peoples of Russia; that housing and road building and consumer goods have been sacrificed to heavy industry and weapons of war.

Major Weapons of Conquest

They tend to feel that the American economic standards are too high — too distant — too hard for them to attain. They are not overly impressed by the fact that last year we made about sixty automobiles to the Soviet's one; or that there are wide disparities between the Soviet and ourselves in the standard of living. They do hope that they can eventually aspire to something like the economic and industrial advancement of the Soviet Union. When the missionaries of Soviet society appear with their offers, the temptation is great. If there are no clear-cut alternatives the reaction is often favorable.

To leave the field open to this type of penetration presents us with grave dangers. What use is it if we and our allies concentrate solely on building barriers against some future military attack while the Soviet envoys of trade, aid and subversion get behind those barriers? Then, too late, both we and the countries affected will know the true meaning of "Red Imperialism."

In this brief presentation, I have endeavored to give an appraisal as an intelligence officer of the information available to us. I can summarize by stating that in our considered opinion, the present strategy of the leaders of international communism as directed from Moscow will not be based on military adventures or the direct use of military power. They will not be likely at this time to take steps which they believe would involve the risk of nuclear war, although Soviet military power will continue to be used as a threat against weaker countries.

On the other hand, international communism will undoubtedly use the methods of economic penetration and internal subversion as major weapons to advance their cause.

On this day, ten years since the takeover of Czechoslovakia, it is appropriate that you should be considering the countermeasures which will be most effective in meeting these threats to our national security. They most certainly can be met with the resources which this country can command.

MUTUAL AID: A PROGRAM OF MASSIVE RECONCILIATION

*Reverend Edwin T. Dahlberg
President, National Council of Churches
of Christ in the U. S. A.*



It is a rare privilege to represent the National Council of Churches in today's discussion of the foreign aspects of United States national security. One of the glories of our Republic is that we can meet in a gathering of this kind, composed of all political parties, all the major religious faiths, and all shades of public opinion. This is a national heritage that must at all costs be defended and preserved.

As president of the National Council of Churches, which is composed of 34 denominations of the Protestant and Eastern Orthodox churches, with a total membership of 38 million people, I cannot pretend to voice the unanimous viewpoints of so huge a section of the Christian Church. Nevertheless, on the basis of the expressed resolutions adopted by the 2,000 delegates present at our Triennial Assembly in St. Louis early in December, and judging by close to a thousand letters coming to me from all parts of the nation and the world in the last few weeks, I know that I am bringing to you the deepest convictions of a very large and important cross section of American Christianity. In behalf of the National Council, therefore, I wish to express sincere gratitude for this opportunity to speak on some of the non-military approaches to world peace which we believe essential to the survival of America and our total world civilization.

All of us, as members of the one body of mankind, are entering upon a completely new era of history—the Nuclear Space Age. We welcome the coming of this age. It is more exciting than the age of Columbus and Magellan. We should look upon it as a part of the on-going purpose of the Eternal God, moving towards a goal that is bigger than any political, ecclesiastical, or nationalistic interest. In the presence of this completely new development in history we can no longer think in terms of one nation or one continent alone. We must think in terms of the universal and the ultimate. For we are now not only one nation under God, but one world under God. This is true whether or not we believe it.

During the Christmas season two months ago it was my good fortune to go on a mission of the National Council of Churches to the armed forces of the Alaska Command. While there I visited some of our most remote radar sites and our northernmost army posts, air force bases, and naval stations, all the way from Elmendorf Air Base, Fort Richardson, Eielson Air Force Base, Fort Greeley, Ladd Air Force Base and King Salmon Air Force Base, Fire Island, Kodiak Island Naval Station, and Adak Island Naval Station, far out on the Aleutian Chain. I was tremendously impressed by that long defense line on the northern rim of the continent, where the men of the Distant Early Warning line stand guard over the nation night and day, around the clock, in the bitter cold of the long Alaskan night, only ninety minutes away from the Communist zone. Amid trigger tension, men stand ready to take their jets into the air at the first flash of the signal from the finger poised and ready to touch the command button that would loose the most terrible forces of destruction known to man.

Need Bold, Creative Answers

Strangely enough, though I came away from that experience with a great sense of pride in our security system, I came away also with a profound sense of insecurity. I cannot forget the evening when one of the high commanding officers took me aside and said in such a voice of passionate conviction such as I have seldom heard in any man, "Dr. Dahlberg, the churches of America must do something about this! This is not the answer." The American officer speaking to me up there on the edge of the Arctic was no sentimentalist. He was no representative of a soft line. He was a tough, competent representative of the armed forces at their bravest and best.

When even this man on the Distant Early Warning line of the nation could voice such a sense of deep religious concern, do you wonder that those of us who are priests, ministers, and rabbis of religion—the appointed watchmen on the Distant Early Warning line of the Kingdom of God—should appeal to you who are the appointed leaders of government to devise some other and better means of national survival than bombs, rocketry, and missiles?

We beg of you to apply the same bold, creative imagination to the non-military approaches to peace that you have already applied to military defense. We know that you are working tirelessly and hard in our behalf. We pray for you, earnestly, as you carry on your shoulders the anxieties and burdens of the nation, in the midst of much misunderstanding. The world is weary and disheartened by the continuing plans for massive retaliation. We yearn for someone to lead in plans for massive reconciliation, on a global scale, and look for the day which we believe to be at hand even now, when all of America's great wealth, resources, and power shall be dedicated to that end.

What the non-military answer shall be, is not easy for any of us to say. It must begin in the Spirit. For as Jesus said, "According to your faith, be it done unto you." Once we substitute a new faith and a new spirit for our present obsession with military defense as our main reliance, and the ever present temptation to touch the technological panic button, we can depend upon Almighty God to show us the way to more effective negotiation, both summit and regional; the way to control both nuclear bombs and population bombs; and the way to the kind of human relations and trade and mutual aid programs that will bring new hope and confidence to all nations.

These are days when we should take completely to heart the promise of the Word of God in James 1:5-6, "If any of you lack wisdom, let him ask of God, that giveth to all men liberally, and upbraideth not; and it shall be given him. But let him ask in faith, nothing wavering."

Weapon of the Spirit

One of the greatest weapons of the Spirit that we could possibly use is certainly that of mutual aid and economic assistance—the kind of aid that will make substantial investments both of public and private money in underdeveloped areas, thereby helping the impoverished nations and at the same time increasing the level of trade, commerce, and industry of our own country. We must remember that whereas the average per capita income of the United States is approximately \$2,000 a year, the average per capita in the underdeveloped countries is \$100 a year. In India it is only \$60. Can we ever hope to have peace, security, or real prosperity as long as there is this disparity! Or can we ever expect the world to believe in our peaceful intentions when we appropriate \$45 billion for our military budget and only a few million dollars for non-military development and technical cooperation?

Many people in America have the idea that we are engaged in a vast give-away program in the field of foreign aid. Actually, economic aid, which is really investment, is a very tiny proportion of our Mutual Security Program. For the fiscal year 1956-57, a total of \$3,766,000,000 was appropriated for all kinds of foreign aid under the Mutual Security Program. But \$2 billion of this sum, approximately, was for direct military aid. Another billion went for defense support, and \$85 million for miscellaneous purposes. Only \$402 million went for economic development and technical cooperation. It is this wide gap between military appropriations and mutual aid that we want to see overcome. Particularly should the factor of technical assistance and economic aid be completely disentangled from the military program, so that there can be a completely honest and accurate understanding of what we are doing. We are happy to note that under President Eisenhower's leadership, steps are now being taken in that direction.

We believe that the churches can speak with some authority and expertness in the field of mutual aid. We have had 2,000 years of experience in this kind of service. The founder of our religion, Jesus Christ of Nazareth, in line with the teachings of the great prophets of Israel before him, left us a commission that as Christians we call the Great Commission to teach all nations, to heal the sick, to feed the hungry, to clothe the naked, and to bind up the broken-hearted.

At the present moment our division of foreign missions in the National Council of Churches is made up of 70 boards and agencies. We have a missionary force of over 10,000 workers in over 50 countries, cooperating with trained nationals. Our literature is printed in 1,100 languages and tribal dialects. Voluntary contributions of approximately \$44 million annually by our church people support all manner of overseas programs, including the administration of schools, colleges, universities, training centers, medical clinics and world-famous hospitals, agricultural stations, shops, and farms. Still further, through our Department of Church World Service we expended last year over \$12 million for relief, and sent overseas more than 300 million pounds of food, clothing, medical supplies, and other necessities, in addition to the shipment of cattle and other livestock by the Heifers-for-Relief program.

Solid, Enduring Investment

When we see the results of these comparatively modest voluntary aid programs by the churches, in terms of character, leadership, self-help, and gratitude we are convinced that this kind of an investment of public funds plus investments in better schools, housing projects, penal institutions, psychiatric clinics, and the care of the aged here at home would guarantee the only posture of national strength that is solid and enduring.

In brief, we would urge giant steps, of boldly imaginative daring and dramatic character, along the lines so ably suggested by the International Advisory Board under the chairmanship of Eric Johnston, in its report to President Eisenhower last March. We believe that:

(1) Economic development programs, including both technical cooperation and capital funds, should be multiplied many times over.

(2) The purposes of these constructive mutual aid programs should be set forth in unequivocal terms emphasizing not so much what we are against as what we ourselves stand for in freedom, justice and peace.

(3) Economic development programs should be separated as far as possible from military and political programs and considerations.

(4) More of our mutual aid programs should be channeled through the United Nations, the United States working always in partnership with other nations in the establishment of substantial economic development programs under the aegis of the United Nations.

(5) All these programs should be based on the principle of self-help, the benefited nations assuming their own share of responsibility.

Such a program of mutual aid should not be considered primarily as a weapon or a tool in our fight against communism. It should be based upon an interest in people as people, human beings who are in partnership with us as children of God, and deserving of the same blessings that we enjoy. At the same time it is only fair to recognize that such a program will powerfully counteract the Communist thrust.

During the last five years I have made extensive journeys to some of the other continents of the world. As I have visited the refugee camps, the mud hut villages, and the desert areas all the way from Israel, Lebanon, and Egypt to Iraq, Pakistan, India, Burma and Ceylon, I have had the same impression everywhere, of the limitless potential of all these countries if only they could have better farms, more industry, more irrigation and electric power, better schools and medical care, more food and clothing, and a settlement once for all of the refugee problem through better economic conditions. The Communists see this and press every advantage in the political, industrial, scientific and economic field. We could do it so much better, if instead of spending so little for mutual aid and so many billions for military defense, we threw more of the weight of our strength into our non-military defenses.

Must Change Global Climate

While in India in 1953 I saw 2,700 refugees in the waiting room of the Howrah Railway Station in Calcutta. That had been their only home for three years. So far as I know they are still there. But they were the more fortunate ones. All through the city outside were the hundreds of thousands of sidewalk dwellers with no shelter at all. It was with an ominous sense of foreboding, therefore, that each evening I saw the thousands of young men marching through Wellington Square in Communist demonstrations. As their platoon leaders shouted in staccato tones through short megaphones the cry in three languages—the Hindi, the Bengali, and the Urdu—"Long live the revolution!"—the marchers replied in the same three languages "We'll kill them! We'll kill them!"

Do you suppose that this revolutionary seed did not fall on fertile ground as the hundreds of thousands of people listened in hunger and misery? This misery hangs like a fog over Asia, Africa, and the islands of the sea. We can no more disperse it by military might than we can scatter a cloud by shooting machine guns through the mist. Only the love of God and man, with accompanying acts of mercy and compassion, can change this global climate.

In the recent storm along the Atlantic seaboard there was such a spirit of mutual aid. Neighbor helped neighbor. Helicopters dropped food supplies to stranded people. Firemen and policemen risked their lives in burning buildings and on impassable highways. A 31-ton Sherman tank battled its way through snowdrifts 12 feet high to take a doctor 14 miles to help a woman in childbirth bring forth new life into the world.

We are now in an international storm of revolution, nationalism, and the unknown dangers of the Nuclear Space Age. I dare to believe that if the major political parties will rise above party alignments and provide for the basic needs of our own people and the world's people, they will receive the increasing support of the nation. May God with the help of His limitless love and grace help America to rise up in the true greatness of its people and fulfill its mission to the world.



THE MORAL FOUNDATIONS of U.S. FOREIGN ASSISTANCE

*Rabbi Theodore L. Adams, President
The Synagogue Council of America*

Mrs. Harris, Mr. Johnston, distinguished colleagues and guests, ladies and gentlemen:

This conference is unique, not only in the scope of the representation and in the all-embracing nature of its appeal, it is unique also because the representatives of religious bodies in this country have assembled together with political and economic leaders on a matter affecting the relations of this country with foreign peoples and governments. We have come here because what is at stake is an overriding moral issue affecting the brotherhood of man and essential spiritual values in face of an unprecedented onslaught of materialist atheism.

There is a midrash, a Rabbinic legend, which declares that in Heaven, the Patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, were not permitted to recite their prayers simultaneously. The reason for this, as the legend explains, was that, so mighty were each of these personalities and so explosive was the power of their individual prayers, that had they joined them together they would have ushered in the Redemption before the appointed time.

When I received the gracious invitation from Mr. Eric Johnston to participate in this program, and noted in his letter the veritable "Who's Who of Great Americans" who are taking part in this conference, the legend of the patriarchs came to my mind, and I thought what marvelous possibilities inherent in this meeting. How great is the potential for advancing the Messianic ideals of peace and mutual helpfulness when such an array of men and women join hearts and minds in a common cause.

May I say, ladies and gentlemen, that my colleagues and I deeply appreciate the privilege of sharing in the deliberations of this important conference with such eminent Americans as grace this platform and compose this audience. The Synagogue Council of America, which I have the honor to serve as President, and its constituent organizations which represent the major religious branches of American Jewry, attach to this conference and its objectives great importance.

But even as we acknowledge the significance of this occasion, I would be less than candid were I not to tell you that our feelings of appreciation of this conference are mingled

with a sense of regret over the need for calling it. Unless I misread the signs of the time, and in all modesty I do not think I do, it seems to me that the necessity for this conference reflects a failure on the part of the American people—a failure to act in consonance with its highest ideals.

“Leaven in the Dough”

That failure, I believe, can be adequately discerned in the passage which tells of a Jewish saint of Talmudic times who would pray thrice daily: “Lord of all worlds, it is known unto Thee that we yearn to do Thy will. What prevents our doing Thy will? The leaven in the dough.” The “leaven in the dough” is figurative for the inclination to act contrary to our ideals.

What are these ideals?

They are, first, the ideals of our Biblical faith; and, second, the ideals which inspire America's democratic traditions. These ideals, which are shared by the majority of Catholics, Protestants, and Jews, have as their central affirmations that God is the Lord of history, the creator, sustainer, and redeemer of all mankind, the judge of all men and nations. To Him is due the supreme loyalty, and not to the state, political party, or ruler.

God wills that all men should love Him with their whole hearts and treat other men as brothers. In social terms, this means that men should live together in a community in which each person, without fear of persecution or proscription, may develop the gifts of mind, body and spirit with which God has endowed him. Such a community, whether local, national, or international, is to be characterized by justice, freedom, and mutual helpfulness. Finally, the Bible asserts that man, the most exalted and complex of God's creations, is capable of good and evil. Biblical religion seeks to encourage those capacities in man which will enable him to overcome human pride, self-regard, and narrow self-interest, and to act on behalf of a larger and nobler self, or of a community of selves.

These convictions form the religious matrix of Western civilization. These conceptions also constitute the roots of modern democratic nationalism. On the basis of these religious values and the Greek concept of the city-state, John Locke, the 17th century British philosopher, formulated the political framework which helped usher in the democratic state. He affirmed two theses which later were incorporated into our Declaration of Independence; namely, that the individual, his liberty, dignity and happiness, remain the basic element of national life; and that the government of a nation is a moral trust dependent on the free consent of the governed.

The freedom, the equality, the liberties, indeed the standard of living which each of us enjoys today, we inherited as a consequence of these ideals, and our ancestors' devotion to them. Further, the very existence of our nation in no small measure is due to the outpouring of generous assistance we received from others—notably from France at the time of our Revolution.

Changeless Values

We know full well that the changeless values of our religious faith, the democratic institutions of our nation, and the providential abundance of this good earth, have produced all that is good in us. These ideals and material legacies impose upon us, both as a nation and as individuals, a moral responsibility to transmit to others, and to future generations, our democratic faith as well as our material wealth.

No one can gainsay that we are doing much to discharge our responsibility as the leader of the free world. Yet there is all too much evidence that measured against our precious

ideals, what we are doing is not enough—does not even begin to be enough. The reports we hear of the opportunistic Soviet Bloc's devious and sustained campaign of providing economic and military aid to backward nations, supposedly "without strings," puts the metal of our idealism to the test more than ever in the past.

At this time of world peril, when lives are at stake, when the future of democracy is threatened by an encircling communism, and the need for friends all over the world is so great and obvious, it is said that our people are more concerned about domestic matters than about our clear moral obligations to the world community. Because of this lack of public interest, it is said that many of our legislators will not—to use the vernacular—"stick their necks out" to support such indispensable programs as foreign aid and trade, even though they are privately convinced of the compelling necessity for such legislation.

Like all of you, I am clearly aware of the problems of recession, unemployment, and inflation. And I feel strongly, as I am confident you do, that our government should pursue vigorously social welfare and development programs involving housing, education, public health, social security, regional resources and urban development, and whatever other measures are called for to contribute to prosperity and full employment. It would be folly to overlook the contradiction that would arise if we were to urge our people to support a foreign aid program, to provide jobs and homes and security for other peoples, while at home social welfare benefits were to be curtailed, and at our doorsteps, God forbid, Americans queued up in bread lines.

But even with our present serious problems of recession and unemployment, America still enjoys the highest standard of living in the world. With vigorous and active leadership, both national and local, I have not the slightest doubt that America is able to resolve both obligations—at home *and* abroad. If it is necessary, it is possible . . .

What is profoundly disturbing today is the tendency of many of our people who try to lose themselves in what Professor Reinhold Niebuhr has called "a paradise suspended in a Hell of international insecurity." These self-indulging individuals, who sate themselves on extravagant materialist pleasures, when confronted by the contradictions between their domestic security and well-being and the hard realities of the International situation, are the first to react in fear and hysteria. The recent response to Sputnik in our country is a frightening illustration of this orientation and its consequences.

One recalls uneasily the historian's description of Rome, which despite all her imperial wealth and power, collapsed before the onrushing Barbarians: "The failure of the Romans was not merely due to their absorption in the urgent military problem, and their consequent neglect of the economic crisis. That crisis was grave indeed, but it was a secondary symptom; the economic evils had their root in moral apathy and paralysis of the human will."

Sober Awareness Needed

Clearly, a radically effective strategy needs to be devised for regenerating the spirit of our people, for giving them a renewed sense of courage, confidence and mission, and for enabling them to develop a sober, rather than a neurotic, awareness of our opportunities, as well as our perils.

Millions of Americans have such a sober and responsible awareness of the American national mission at this moment in history, and, together with them, the Synagogue Council of America has joined in support of the programs of our Government for extending long-range economic and technical assistance to the less developed nations and people of the world.

In the testimony of the Synagogue Council of America before the House Foreign Affairs Committee in May 1957, as articulated by our Past President, Dr. Abraham J. Feldman,

we indicated that "on the basis of fundamental Jewish religious teaching, we believe that these programs, which are designed to help less fortunate peoples and their governments to preserve their newly won freedom and to move forward on a road to economic independence, are of crucial importance in the struggle to achieve peace and freedom, stability and justice."

We went on to point out "our profound religious concern over the factor of motive in providing non-military economic assistance. We have observed that our government seems to find it necessary constantly to reassure the American people that the major or sole reason for helping the nearly one billion people in Asia and Africa who are afflicted with the age-old scourges of poverty, disease, and ignorance, is our own self-interest, our foreign policy.

"As religionists, we feel profoundly that the utilitarian motive of benevolence is not worthy of the United States. The moral character and destiny of America compel the higher motives, of compassion, of brotherhood, of respect for human personality."

It would be instructive to note that in the ancient Temple in Jerusalem there was created an institution called the Chamber of the Silent. According to the philosopher Maimonides, in this hidden room the righteous secretly deposited their alms and the respectable poor were secretly assisted. This, said Maimonides, is the performance of a commandment on the highest level—from disinterested motives.

This was the spirit in which the Synagogue Council of America expressed its "hope that the Congress of the United States will enact mutual security legislation to help, in the words of the Psalm, 'rescue the poor and needy; deliver them out of the hands of the wicked'."

Ladies and gentlemen, we believe that favorable and widespread support of this position on the part of the American people would do much to demonstrate to the world that we are still imbued with the conviction that possessed the founders of our nation; namely, that there is a universal significance to the New World experiment, and that, in the true meaning of the words of the revolutionaries of 1776, "the cause of America is the cause of mankind."

Four-Fold Program

It would be a major contribution, I am convinced, if out of this conference there emerged a four-fold program calling for:

- (1) public support for the enactment of mutual security legislation;
- (2) public endorsement of the expansion of international trade by constructive governmental policies;
- (3) public support for vigorous enactment of social welfare and development programs to prevent the recurrence of depressions and prolonged mass unemployment; and
- (4) the undertaking of a nationwide program on the part of the major religious agencies and other non-governmental movements to transmit incessantly and with maximum effectiveness to the people of our country the fundamental moral challenge of mutual security legislation.

Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, if this program fails, it will be the failure not only of the United States Government, but of the pattern of America's moral approach in the eyes of the world.

It will *not* fail because the American people have never left unanswered the challenge of morality.

Thank you.



CHARITY BEGINS AWAY FROM HOME

*Bishop Fulton J. Sheen
Auxiliary Bishop of New York*

One-third of the people of the world go to bed hungry every night.

One-fourth of the population of the earth earns less than \$1 a week. This is about \$4 less than the per capita expenditure in the United States on alcohol and only \$16 more than the per capita expenditure for cigarettes in the United States.

The highest per capita income in Asia is in Japan, and that is only \$100 a year. The per capita income in the United States is over \$1,500 a year.

Japan has an area comparable to California. But in it are 90,000,000 people, crowded about 700 per square mile, and on land only 14 per cent of which is arable. This condition prevails while great nations and vast areas of the world's surface are closed to the Japanese who might wish to emigrate.

One-half of the population of the earth lives in Asia, and yet they receive only 11 per cent of the total income of the world.

Never before in the history of the world was there so much wealth; never before in the history of the world was there so much poverty; never before was there so much education; never before so little coming to the knowledge of the truth; never before so much power, never before was that power so prepared to be used for the destruction of human life.

In the Face of Need: A Moral Duty

Our moral duty to aid the underprivileged arises from the fact that we have superfluities, and the superfluities of the rich are the necessities of the poor. It was a pagan, Terence, who said: "Charity begins at home." It was Christ, the Son of God, Who in the parable of the Good Samaritan said that charity begins away from home with people who are not of our race or country.

A second reason for our moral duty to aid others is because the earth and the fullness thereof were made by God for all the peoples of the earth, and not for the privileged advantage of a few. The diversity of peoples and races is like to a minor degree the diversity of cells and organs within the human body. Such interdependence exists between them that the suffering of one is the suffering of all and the prosperity of one is the prosperity of all.

In aiding underprivileged countries we are not to think of ourselves as superior because we are economically wealthier; or that those who are aided are inferior because economically poorer. There are several kinds of need. The underprivileged countries of the world need one thing; we need another. Both the giver and the receiver have their respective needs. The underprivileged countries need our machinery for their fields, our clothes for their backs, our shoes for their feet, and our food for their stomachs. But we have need too; we are poor in another way. We need to justify our wealth by sharing it; we need to thank God for making us the most prosperous nation on the earth; we need the blessing of heaven on our hearts and the grace of God on our whole being. Therefore with humility and not with pride and superiority we extend our hands to the needy. Theirs is the burden of being underprivileged; ours is the burden of being *overprivileged*. It is their stomachs that are empty; it could be our hearts that are empty. In any case, they could conceivably do without our aid, but we cannot continue to be without justice and charity.

In justice to our country let it be said that rarely in human history has any victor in war ever denied himself the spoils of war. Not only has the United States not gained one foot of foreign territory in two World Wars; it is the first nation in modern times that ever came immediately to the assistance of the vanquished once the mouths of cannons were silenced. The two defeated nations of Germany and Japan through our aid have become the most prosperous nations in Europe and Asia respectively. Centuries ago Alexander the Great after his defeat of the Persians bade his officers marry Persian women, saying "God is the Father of all men." Today, our country has put into practice the Divine Mandate "Love your enemies" and has bound up their wounds and set them on their feet. For all the world to see, in contrast is Soviet imperialism which today by force controls 35 per cent of the earth's surface and 36 per cent of the world's population.

Foreign Aid Has Many Aspects

I believe that the United States under Providence is to play an important role in the preservation of the liberties of the world.

But governments are not completely inspired by an *amor benevolentiae* or the love of others for their own sakes. Foreign aid has many aspects, military, political, economic and social. One of these aspects, which is worth examining, is the giving of aid in order to combat communism by keeping the underprivileged nations within the orbit of the Free World.

In relation to the idea that foreign aid combats communism we would point out three cautions and three recommendations.

Caution No. 1: There is nothing in foreign aid of and by itself which makes it an effective weapon against communism. Aid can be given by the United States to combat communism; but aid can be given and is given by the Soviets to further communism.

It is conceivable that the Soviets could give more than the United States, because they give greater primacy to creating new slaves through world imperialism than to adequate production for those presently enslaved.

Caution No. 2: It is a fallacy to believe that he who gives the most is assured of winning the underprivileged. Foreign aid, from this point of view, is like courtship, and it is well to remember that a maid does not always marry the one who gives her the biggest wingswept

lenders. The underprivileged nations, to continue the analogy, need not marry at all; they can become old maids, or politically become narrowly nationalistic; or they could be won by a third power, which would be neither the United States nor the Soviets and of which we will speak in a moment.

Caution No. 3: Avoid seeking to win other peoples into our orbit by economic means alone. To do this would be to put ourselves on exactly the same basis as the Soviets, namely, materialism. Denying it in theory, but affirming it in practice, we would thereby assume the basic Marxian principle of the economic determination of history. And what would be tragic is that we would be doing it to peoples who themselves refuse to accept the primacy of the economic.

Recommendations

(1) The foreign aid of the United States must introduce some factor besides the economic, political and military, one which is the strongest in our national traditions and one which the Soviets not only lack but repudiate. They have one fear in our dealing with the rest of the world, that we will take cognizance of that defect which makes them suspect by all the peoples of Asia and Africa, and that is our belief in God, the dignity of the human person, the freedom of conscience, and the principle that the State exists for man, not man for the State. When we go along with the Communist line that matter alone matters, we are weak and they are strong; when we give economic aid on the basis that matter alone does not matter, they are powerless and we are strong.

(2) Along these lines recognize that there exists what might be called a Third World Power, which despite many fundamental differences with Christianity and Judaism, nevertheless does believe in God and prayer. One out of every 7 persons in the world is a Moslem; 375,000,000 of them in the world constitute a great supra-national force. Already the anti-God forces of the Soviets have won over some of their governments, and largely because we have been silent on the fundamental difference between them and the Soviets. Islam can be made sympathetic to the Free World more by recognizing its belief in God than by mere economic aid which ignores that belief. One of the strongest anti-communist blocs in the world is ignored because in our insistence on the economic we have placed ourselves on the same level as the anti-God forces.

(3) The third recommendation would be for the United States to utilize the great forces of service and charity which are presently scattered throughout the world. I refer to the thousand agencies of social betterment of Christian missionaries and in some instances Jewish workers who live with the underprivileged people, who speak their language, share their hunger and are identified with the people. I pass over our own organization of which I am the national president, which last year aided 85,000,000 children, sick, orphans, lepers—about 80 per cent of which were not Christian. I call attention to Protestants who spend \$11,000,000 annually in education, agricultural farms, hospitals, leprosaria, dispensaries in the underprivileged countries of the world.

Why should not some foreign aid be funneled through these agencies *exclusively* for social and medical care of the underprivileged? I am not speaking of aid for purposes of Apostolate, for Our Lord refused to be a Bread-King.

Too often our government when it wishes to give other nations a sample of our culture sends to them a hornblower or a movie actor, forgetful not only that these nations expect more from us, but also that we have much more to give. Should aid be given for the exclusively social purposes mentioned above, it would relieve the stigma attached to foreign aid that it is given solely for political and military purposes.

Conclusion

The power of the world, political, economical, social and military, is passing to the East. The future continent of the earth is Africa. In 150 years from now Africa will be industrially great, as the United States is today. We of the West have been superior, but not because we have been white, but because we have been Christian. The moment we lose that faith we lose our superiority. God has played on the white keys long enough; and in the future, God will play on the black keys to produce a new melody and a new culture.

It is the loss of the spiritual which makes us think solely in terms of the economic, and thus makes us competitive rivals with atheistic Soviets. As Dostoevski warned: "A day is coming when men will say there is no crime, there is no sin, there is no guilt; there is only hunger. . . . And they will come crying and fawning to our feet saying: 'Give us bread'."

The Soviets would have the world believe there is only hunger of the belly. Our great country, which has risen to prosperity because it holds that God has endowed man with certain inalienable rights, must recognize that "not by bread alone doth man live."

This is the crux of the question of foreign aid.



INTRODUCING A VALIANT WARRIOR

*The Hon. Dean G. Acheson
Former Secretary of State*

This conference today is called so that all of us may consult together and under wise leadership present to our fellow citizens of the United States one of the great pillar policies of the Free World.

It seems to me that there are three foundations upon which a free world must rest. One is a military policy which can bring security. Another is an economic policy, an export of capital policy such as we are discussing today, and trade policies which can make for an expanding and more vigorous Free-World system. The third is our political policies which will bring together the Free World and not divide it. No one of these policies can succeed without the other. Today we are here to begin a campaign which will not be easy—an epochal campaign in the democratic process of the United States—a campaign of self-education, to bring home to all of us and to our legislators the importance of this policy.

To all of those who love Mr. Truman, it is a great joy to talk about those of his qualities which make us love him. We find it a delight. We find that it also annoys people whom we like to annoy and this gives us added pleasure. But we are well aware that this is not exactly the thing to do at a meeting where we are trying to produce harmony in regard to policies which transcend any personality, and which is intended to bring us all together.

So we will spend our time not in eulogizing the man who has contributed more than any living American to the development of the economic policies that will pull the Free World through its troubles, but in urging you to believe that from his lips we can all together gain leadership to go into this fight and carry it through to success. Because, I think that I can say two things about him which will not cause any offense in this meeting. One is that he has served this cause well; that from the time he had the great responsibilities of office laid upon him, he developed the policy which we are talking about today, not as a personal policy, not anything which he claims for himself, but as a great policy which belongs to all of America and to which he has made his great contribution. And I think I can say one other thing with which everyone in this room will agree, and that is: If one is going into a fight, it is much better to be on the side of that valiant and happy warrior from Missouri, the former President of the United States of America, the Honorable Harry S. Truman.

WE ARE TRUSTEES OF DEMOCRACY AND FREEDOM

*The Hon. Harry S. Truman
Former President of the U. S.*



Chase Ltd., Photo

I am here today simply because this is a very important meeting for the security of the United States and the peace of the world. The people of this country have given me every honor a man can have. All I want to do now is try to repay the people of the United States, who gave me those honors, with what I hope may be a contribution to the peace of the world.

I am delighted to see so many of my friends, Republicans as well as Democrats, present at this meeting. This is a good example of a bipartisan approach to a foreign policy, and that's the approach we ought to use. Partisan politics ought to stop at the water's edge.

I have come here today to talk to you because I have been told that the Mutual Security Program is in grave danger of being emasculated by the Congress. If that is true, then I must tell you frankly that I think the country is in a very bad fix—and I will tell you why I think so.

We are planning to spend \$40 billion on defense next year—and it probably ought to be more. Then the year after that we will have to spend some added billions. Year after year the weapons of war get more expensive and more destructive. We are caught hard and fast in the most terrible armaments race in history. The Russians invent something, and we have to try to match it. Then we invent something, and the Russians have to try to match that.

Already, we have weapons so destructive as to endanger the very existence of the human race, but we have to go on and on making them more destructive and more terrible.

Now, what can we hope from all these weapons—all these billions of dollars we must spend for defense? The most we can hope to gain from them is a stalemate—all we can do with them is to buy time. The only thing we can do with armaments is to buy time. Buy time for what, you may ask? And that is the question; that is the *real* question. What are we going to do with the precious time we buy with all the billions and billions we are pouring into arms?

There is one thing that recent history taught us. Hitler wanted to use poison gas in

World War II, but when he found out that we had a more effective gas than his, he hesitated and then cancelled his plans. Well, we've bought time with terrible weapons, but what are we going to do in these precious days that may be our last chance to keep mankind from being blown off the face of the earth? Are we to go on blindly with no hope, no plans for ending the armament race, no program for establishing a just peace in the world except to pile weapon upon weapon? No, my friends, that is not the answer. There must be a better way. There is a better way, and we shall find it—with God's help, we shall find it.

Why haven't we come forward with some new ideas, ideas to compare with Point IV, the Marshall Plan, the Atlantic Treaty? We live today in a dearth of ideas. The clock has been turned back to the 1920's. Let's run the hands of the clock up to date with the new ideas to meet today's problems.

Signposts Mark the Way

The way is not easy; it is not marked with clear and certain signposts. But some things about it *are* clear. There are some lessons we should have learned from experience—some things we know are worth trying.

One of our best hopes is economic assistance for other nations. This is a chance to move forward, to do something affirmative toward breaking the stalemate. This is our chance to take action toward peace, behind the shield our defense forces form for us. Foreign economic assistance—the Mutual Security Program—is the cutting edge on the tool that gives some meaning and purpose to all our efforts for defense.

I will not undertake to explain here how the Mutual Security Program works and why it is so important. It is enough to say that the military assistance portions of it are absolutely vital to our defense and, among other things, give us more defense for the money than other measures could possibly give. It is enough to say that the economic assistance portions are our effort to help create conditions among countless millions in many lands that will lead them to take the path of democracy rather than communism. It is among those countless millions that the battle for peace and justice in the world will be won or lost. It is in their minds and hearts that the decision will be made.

There are strong forces on the side of freedom in the struggle now going on in the world. There are many brave and wise leaders who want their nations to follow the path of democracy. But if they are to succeed, they must have some outside help. They can do most of the job themselves, and they will, but in many cases a margin of help from us will mean the difference between success and failure. And failure means the loss of more peoples and more countries to the tyranny of Communist dictatorship. It means Communist slaughter of the innocent, as in Hungary, Latvia, Romania, and Poland, Estonia, Czechoslovakia and Lithuania.

Remember, it is impossible for us to win the struggle against communism by military means alone. We must find other ways. And he who destroys any reasonable means to that end does so at his peril, and at the peril of us all.

Now I have heard that there are Members of Congress who expect to do most of their economizing on the budget this year by voting to cut the funds for foreign economic aid—these are the funds for Technical Assistance (which we used to call Point IV) and the Development Loan Fund. The budget requests for these two funds together are less than \$800 million—little more than 1 per cent of the total budget—and much of this money will go out as loans which will be repaid to us. How anyone can justify aiming his cuts at those funds is beyond me. If there is any money in the budget that holds out any hope

for mankind, this is it; and we ought not to be talking about cutting it but about raising it—perhaps raising it substantially.

I will pass for the time being the question of whether the total budget is too big or too small. Opinions may differ on that. But whatever your opinion may be as to the total, this is the part that ought to be regarded as most sacred of all.

Don't Scuttle the Ship

There are many people who say they don't like the foreign aid program because they believe it is administered badly. I don't believe that. From where I sit, it looks as if a lot of things are now being administered badly—but you can't abolish the government on that account. You cannot abolish the entire government of the United States just because it's being badly administered. Neither is that the way to correct mistakes in the Mutual Security Program. Examine it all you please, correct all the mistakes you can, improve it every year and every day, eliminate waste and increase efficiency—but don't scuttle the ship just to stop the leaks.

And I want to say a word in a political vein to my Democratic brethren in Congress. There was a Democratic vote last year to cut a budget item which should not have been cut, and we are still having a hard time explaining it. Please don't put us on that kind of spot again. If the Democrats in Congress refuse to spend at least as much for foreign economic assistance as this Administration recommends, we will never, never be able to explain it. People will forgive us for spending too much in the search for peace; they will never forgive us for refusing to spend enough.

I will not presume to offer any political advice to the Republicans. I will only pause to throw down this challenge: I challenge the Republicans to do as well by this bill as the Democrats do, and then let's see how we come out.

There won't be any lobbyists buttonholing Congressmen and Senators to support this peace money. The special interests have nothing to gain and no axe to grind here. But there will be a silent plea from all the countless millions who yearn for peace in the world. Who is to speak for them? Is not their future worth something? Is not mankind worth saving?

People talk of give-aways and look to see how the political winds are blowing. But the political approach which should decide this matter is the politics of survival. And survival requires that we face up to our job in the world and go about it with a zealous faith in freedom. We must show the world that freedom is the best answer to human needs. To fail in this would be the real give-away program—the program that would give away everything the United States stands for.

It is given to us in our time to be trustees of democracy and freedom in this hour of their great peril. It is our solemn obligation to see that peace and freedom do not perish from this earth. We owe this duty to our children and our children's children; we owe it to the whole human race. And I humbly believe that Almighty God will be with us and help us to meet that solemn obligation.



SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY and FREE WORLD DEVELOPMENT

*Dr. James R. Killian, Jr.
Special Assistant to the President
For Science and Technology*

A distinguished economist once defined the mission of his profession by saying that economists were "the trustees not of civilization, but of the possibility of civilization." Something of the same may be said of our military men in times like these and of those civilians like myself who have been asked to assist in the mobilization of our technological resources for the defense of the United States and the Free World. Great resources, human energy, and creative talent must be organized for military purposes in order to make it possible for the United States to continue to develop as a free society and to make it possible for a Free World to continue to exist. But defense is only a part of the nation's task; and that is a negative part.

It therefore gives me the highest satisfaction as an educator and administrator from the field of science to be able to join today in supporting the President's foreign aid program, which is a major expression of our nation's ability to address itself not only to the evident dangers of our time but also, with equal will, to its constructive challenges.

As Secretary McElroy explained this morning, a portion of American foreign aid flows to nations which are directly threatened by Communist military strength, poised across their borders, or threatened by the possibility of Communist-inspired military insurrection. By helping those nations, we add directly to the Free World's ability to resist aggression; and in so doing, we make aggression less likely.

The primary purpose of military aid is precisely the same as military expenditures made at home; that is, to create a framework within which free men and women can live their lives in security and develop societies in the light of the humane values to which they are committed. Moreover, we should be clear that the military aid and support we give abroad to our allies can have the further constructive effect of freeing local resources for productive purposes; for many of our allies do not now have the economic capacity both to defend themselves and to expand their underdeveloped economies.

My remarks this afternoon deal mainly with those aspects of foreign aid which involve education, science, and technology. In the fields of education and science can be found opportunities for mutual aid and for the pooling of intellectual resources which can serve to augment not only the military and the economic strength of the Free World but also to enrich the social and spiritual life which is an essential part of Free World strength and stability.

Student Exchange

At the moment there are some 40,000 young men and women from abroad studying in American colleges and universities. Of these, 65 per cent come from the underdeveloped areas of Asia, the Middle East, Africa, and Latin America. About half of them are in the United States to learn how modern science and technology can be put to work to modernize the economies of their countries and to prolong and enrich the life of their fellow citizens.

All of us engaged in American higher education regard the education of these young men and women as one of our proudest and most important tasks. We also feel that we should use every practical means to increase the numbers of these young people who come to the United States; but in saying this, we must also add that we think it important that increasing numbers of our young people can profitably go to the universities of other countries in the Free World to round out their education. This kind of educational exchange is one of the great instruments for building good will and understanding.

In emphasizing our contribution through education to the process of economic and social development in the Free World, we must also stress something else. Unless these young people who come to us for education find adequate professional opportunities when they return home, the usefulness of their education will be greatly reduced. Unless the process of economic development within their countries gathers momentum along a broad front, these students may return home to find not a life of challenging service but a life of frustration dangerous to their interests and to ours.

These new nations which send us so many students need more than scientists and engineers; they need a setting in which scientists and engineers can be productive. They need businessmen, foremen, and a skilled labor force. They need skilled government administrators, economists, and agricultural extension workers. They need above all capital to help them build the economic overheads of a modern society: roads and docks, railway lines, and electric power stations.

If education is one of the important means whereby we in the United States can contribute to the strength of the Free World, so too can be our active efforts to achieve a better pooling of scientific resources. The importance of this pooling of efforts was admirably expressed in the NATO Conference communique last December.

"The full development of our science and technology," said this NATO communique, "is essential to the culture, to the economy and to the political and military strength of our Atlantic community . . .

"We seek to increase the effectiveness of national efforts through the pooling of scientific facilities and information and the sharing of tasks. We must build on the established tradition of the universality of true science. Our governments will support the international organizations doing work in this field."

These important objectives agreed to by the NATO Alliance require study and systematic effort if they are to be realized.

Two-Way Street

To this end, I hope that we can extend the scientific relationships between the American scientific community and the scientists in other parts of the Free World. Multiplying person-to-person scientific relationships is especially important. It is a two-way street. In most of the countries of the Free World, there are productive scholars who are making contributions important to our own scientific advance, and we in turn have much to contribute to theirs. On our part, this kind of scientific exchange will require more

than proficiency in science; it requires an interest on the part of our scientists and engineers in participating in such exchanges; it requires the mastery of foreign tongues and an interest in and knowledge of the cultural and historical aspects of foreign countries. But here again we must recognize the relationship between science and the environment which it seeks to serve. Just as scientists and engineers cannot be productive in the vacuum of a static, low-productivity economy, so it is, also, with the unfolding possibilities of modern science. Science and technology can be put to work only when they are woven into the fabric of a society which is modernizing its political life, its educational institutions, its methods of administration, and its outlook towards the whole economic process.

This broad transformation of traditional societies can be carried out only on the spot, by the citizens of the new aspiring nations. But the component of help from abroad may be decisive to the outcome. The economic aspects of our foreign aid program—and notably the new Development Loan Fund—are designed to supply that essential component. They aim to help create the conditions for progress; to create the circumstances in which modern science and technology—and the scientists and engineers who know its methods and possibilities—can perform their creative tasks.

Science consists of orderly ways of looking at the physical world and of understanding, partially at least, how it works. Technology consists of ways of manipulating the physical world to men's purposes. In training our scientists and engineers, we seek to teach them not merely the tricks of their trade but also something of the history, the institutions, and the deeper values of the world in which their skills will be applied. In fashioning an American policy to help other people bring to bear the possibilities of modern science and technology, we must, equally, proceed in terms of a balanced program, embracing not merely military aid, education, and technical assistance, but capital as well. The economic aspects of our foreign aid effort seem to me to be an indispensable element in such a well-rounded American policy.

There is, perhaps, a general lesson for Americans in this problem of foreign aid. We stand in the face of a challenge which is forcing us to reconsider many aspects of the nation's life. We all know, for example, that the time has come to look afresh at the purposes and methods of our educational system. It would clearly be wrong for us to gear our educational system merely to the short-run requirements of national defense. It would be an empty victory for us to outstrip the Soviet Union in military technology at the cost of losing the broad conception of education focused around the individual human being, which is the underpinning of our democratic life. The challenge in education is to produce the skills we need to survive in our own fashion; and to give thereby new meaning and validity to the democratic concept.

Fateful Issues

Similarly, our leadership of the Free World would prove sterile if we were merely to offer to our friends and allies arms for defense without sharing in their constructive tasks and adventures. The aspirations at work in Asia, the Middle East, Africa, and Latin America for increased national and individual dignity, and for increased material and social progress, are clearly a major phenomenon of the twentieth century. Our response to this challenge cannot be merely defensive and negative if it is to be successful.

As an administrator in the fields of education and science, I am associated with two professions, which, of their nature, transcend national boundaries. My professional colleagues and I are drawn by the ardent efforts now being made all over the world; and we seek, instinctively, to find ways to help. More important, however, it is a fundamental

part of our national tradition that we, as Americans, associate ourselves with other peoples who cherish freedom, independence, increased human dignity, and material progress.

At the moment, fatelul military and diplomatic issues turn on the course of events in Asia, the Middle East, Africa, and Latin America. In bringing to American policy the constructive elements in the President's foreign aid program, we shall not only be helping to defend the national interest but also developing and enriching our nation's tradition and its life.

Toward these great objectives science and technology are important agencies of progress. If we can give due emphasis to intellectual as well as physical partnership in the Free World, the combined results of national scientific activity can be greater than the sum of its parts in the Free World community. Through the release of the latent scientific creativity in the newly developing countries, our world-wide scientific progress will be faster and surer for the benefit of all mankind. When thus encouraged and used, science, as a great creative activity of the mind, will steadily enhance man's dignity and understanding and thus serve to augment the spiritual strength which is essential for the stability of a Free World.

Part Three

PANEL DISCUSSIONS

The following is a transcript of the panel sessions except for those portions which were inaudible because of recording difficulties.



Vice President Richard M. Nixon conducting a two hour Question and Answer panel at the afternoon session.

Washington Post Photo

QUESTION AND ANSWER PANEL



Hon. Richard M. Nixon,
Vice President of the United States

Honorable C. Douglas Dillon, *Deputy Under Secretary of State*
Honorable Mansfield D. Sprague, *Assistant Secretary of Defense*
Honorable James H. Smith, Jr., *Director, International Cooperation Administration*
Honorable Dempster McIntosh, *Manager, Development Loan Fund*

Mr. Johnston: Ladies and gentlemen, the Vice President.

Mr. Nixon: You've had a very full day up to this time, I understand, and I've had a report on the various speeches that you've heard. The purpose of this afternoon's session is to get into details—the details as to this year's program in the Mutual Security area.

Before we get into the questions we think it would be well to have statements with regard to the program which the Congress will have to pass upon before adjournment. And to bring you that picture I now have the privilege of presenting a man who coordinates the activities of the United States in the economic area for the Department of State. He is admirably qualified for this position because his experience in business and banking qualifies him on the economic side; his experience as our former Ambassador to France qualifies him on the diplomatic side. Mr. Douglas Dillon of the State Department.

Essentials of the Mutual Security Program

Mr. Dillon: First, just a word about the role of the State Department in the whole Mutual Security business. As the Vice President said, I am supposed to coordinate the program. Now, what that means is simply this: The Secretary of State has full responsibility now, as a result of the change in the law last year, for insuring that the entire Mutual Security Program is operated in the very best interests of the United States. What that means is that our efforts will be expended in those ways, and in those countries, where it is in our best interests for all the various reasons that were given to you in such an inspiring fashion by the speakers this morning—not merely the strictly immediate ones but also the long-term reasons.

This coordination does not involve operating responsibility in any way. The operation of the program on the economic side is the responsibility, under the Secretary of State, entirely of Mr. Smith, who is with us on the panel. For the Military As-

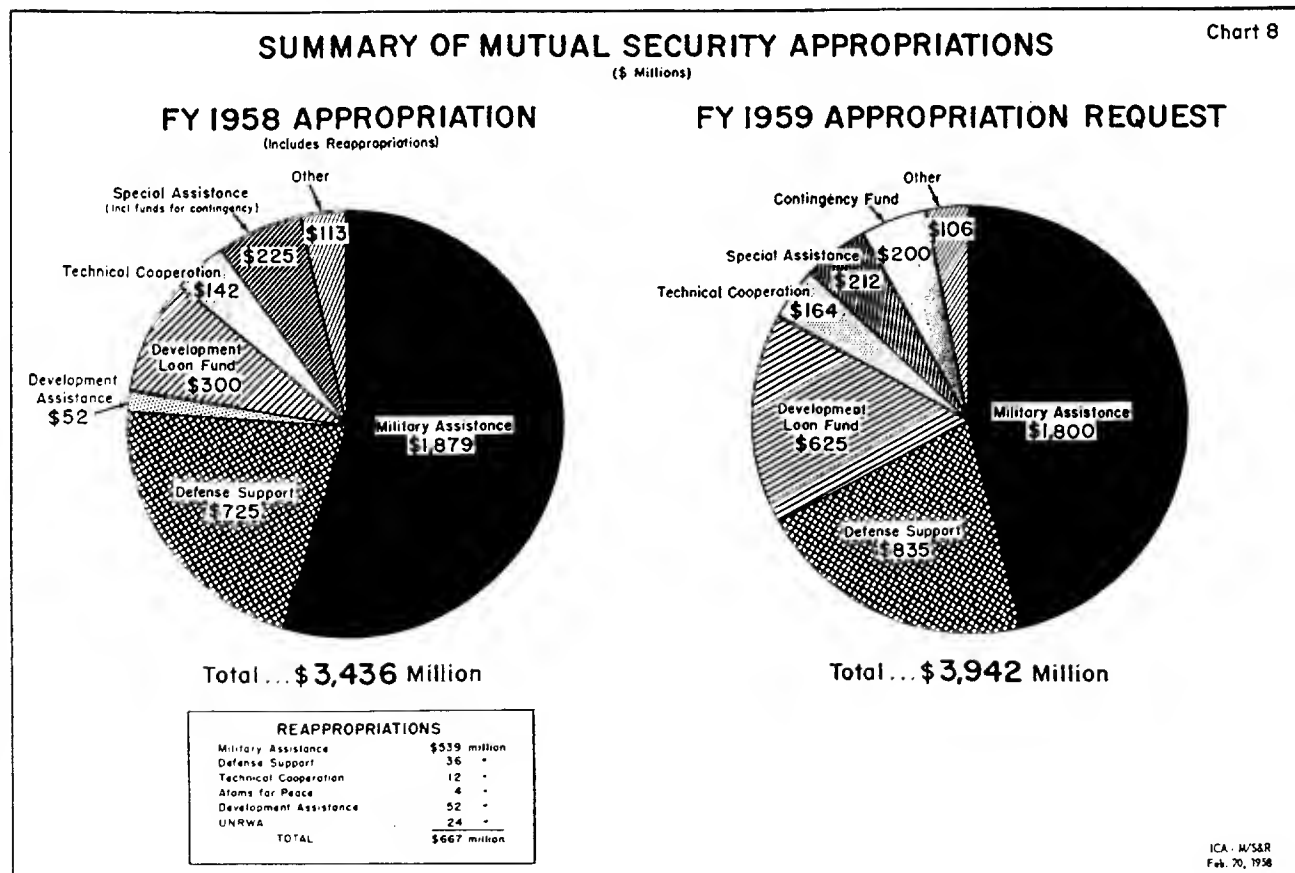
sistance part, it is entirely the responsibility of the Secretary of Defense, who delegates it to the Assistant Secretary for International Security Affairs, Mr. Sprague.

Now, just a short word as to the "nuts and bolts" of this program. I don't know whether all of you have got these charts which were supposed to be distributed to you, but, if you do, you will see on chart No. 8 a very clear over-all description of what we are requesting this year in the Mutual Security Program as compared to the fiscal year 1958 appropriation.

First of all, you will see that we are asking for about \$500 million more than we actually *received* from Congress last year. However, another fact, which doesn't show on this chart, is that we are asking for about \$500 million less than we, as an Administration, asked the Congress for last year. This whole difference lies in the Military Assistance field. The decrease of \$500 million last year is

more than accounted for by the difference between the request last year of some \$2.4 billion and the present request of \$1.8 billion. Similarly, the increase in the request this year over what was actually appropriated last year is entirely in the economic field. As you will see, the actual amounts requested for Military Assistance, as against the appropriation, are almost identical: \$1.879 billion appropriated last year and \$1.8 billion which we are requesting this year.

Now, in the economic field you come first to the largest segment, which is called "Defense Support." There wasn't much talk about that this morning, and, therefore, I'd like to say just a few words. It does not mean that we are giving a military slant to our whole economic assistance program. Defense Support is a very special thing. It is not a shotgun approach. It might better be likened to a rifle for use in cases where we try to bring to bear the influence of the United States and the help of the United States in certain spe-



cific places where it is necessary. Defense Support goes only to 11 countries out of some 63 that are involved in our Mutual Security Program. And 70 per cent of that support goes to only four countries. These four are Korea, Taiwan, Viet-Nam and Turkey.

You heard Mr. Allen Dulles this morning point out that the Soviet Union is putting in more economic aid per capita in North Korea than we are putting into South Korea. The money we are putting into South Korea as Defense Support is exactly comparable to the economic aid that the Soviet Union is putting into North Korea. So any cut in this program, you must realize, will be cutting the economic assistance that goes to the South Korean people to help them bear the burdens which they are forced to bear because of the big military establishments in North Korea. A similar situation exists on Taiwan and in the Republic of Viet-Nam, which has so gallantly stood up to the Communists since the days of the war in Indo-China. The fourth major recipient of Defense Support is also a special case. It is Turkey, which is the bulwark of NATO in the eastern Mediterranean—a country which is not as advanced industrially as some of our other NATO partners and, therefore, cannot bear a full load and needs help to produce the support which she is giving.

Beyond that, we are asking this year for these other items which you see—\$212 million for Special Assistance. This Special Assistance fund is for economic and political purposes in countries where we do not support big military establishments. That's the difference between Special Assistance and Defense Support. Defense Support goes to those countries which by force of circumstances have to support heavy military establishments.

We are asking for a contingency fund of \$200 million to handle the emergencies which always occur. We have increased our Technical Cooperation request some \$22 million, from \$142 million to about \$164 million. This, we feel, is about the limit of the number of trained personnel that can be acquired in a year and added to the program. That is the limiting factor rather than money.

Finally, we come to the Development Loan Fund about which you have heard so much this morning. I won't go into that in any great detail except to say that it is our one great weapon to help

these people in the uncommitted, or underdeveloped, parts of the world to raise their standards of living. We feel that this \$625 million is an absolute minimum. We have received to date requests from these countries amounting to about \$1.4 billion. Some of these requests will certainly prove, on examination, not to be good and will not be eligible for financing. But it is perfectly clear that with the funds we have presently available we have nowhere near enough to do the job. It is our feeling that we need at least the full \$625 million if we are to do the job we have in front of us.

This completes a bird's-eye view of the Mutual Security Program which is being presented to the Congress in this fiscal 1959. Thank you.



Dep't. of State Photo: Whit Keith, Jr.

C. Douglas Dillon

Mr. Nixon: Now we've had, as Mr. Dillon says, at least a brief picture of what the program will be. We felt that at this point, rather than continue with the spoon feeding which inevitably is the result when speakers appear formally before you, we should have audience participation. Now this morning it was suggested that if you have questions you might submit them. Those questions, a considerable number of them, have been submitted. They've been typed on cards and I have them ar-

ranged here in front of me. However, we do not want to rule out audience participation from people who might not have thought of a question this morning, or participation by those to whom questions might occur this afternoon. So we've decided on this procedure. We will begin with one of the questions that have been submitted earlier this morning and then go to a question from the audience, and will thereafter attempt to alternate through the remainder of the time we have available.

Malaria Eradication

Beginning with the first question, let me turn first to Mr. Smith over on our left here. We have a number of questions for him. I might say that



Official U.S. Navy Photo

James H. Smith, Jr.

some of them, incidentally, are provocative. But he likes that kind of question. I can assure you of that from having seen him operate before various Congressional committees and the like. First I'll give him an easy one. "Mr. Smith, can you think of any program, dollar for dollar, that achieves as much as the money allocated to malaria eradication?" Mr. James H. Smith, Jr., the head of ICA.

Mr. Smith: The question is whether there is any program that I know of that has broader benefits than the malaria eradication program. In case you aren't familiar with it, I think I might explain that we have undertaken, in partnership with the World Health Organization, to eliminate malaria from the world. This is a very major job which we are going ahead with with great enthusiasm and with concrete and definite confidence that we'll get this work done. I can hardly think of any job that we have undertaken that can benefit mankind more in the health and medical field.

Why Is Military Assistance in the Mutual Security Budget?

Mr. Nixon: So that you can have an opportunity to meet the other members of our panel, I would now like to turn to the following question. "Since far more than half of the proposed appropriation is for military purposes, why isn't the military part of the program carried as a part of the budget of the Department of Defense?" And so we'll turn to Mr. Mansfield D. Sprague, who handles that part of the program from the Department of Defense—Assistant Secretary Sprague.

Mr. Sprague: Last year the Executive Branch determined that it would be desirable for Military Assistance to appear as a separate item in the Department of Defense budget. The Congress did not agree with this view, at least at the last session, and so again this year the Military Assistance part of the budget appears as part of the Mutual Security Program which is actually appropriated as a part of the President's budget. The President then allocates the specified sums to the various agencies to administer. I believe it is fair to say that the Administration would still prefer to have the Military Assistance program shown as a part of the defense budget because in fact this program is an integral part of the defense effort of the United States.

Private Enterprise

Mr. Nixon: And now, turning to another member of our panel for a question that is in his particular field—Mr. Dempster McIntosh, the head of our Development Loan Fund. “Why does not the United States, as the leading private enterprise nation, push private enterprise more actively as a weapon in the economic war with communism?” Mr. McIntosh, that’s a big order but I’m sure you can fill it.



Dept. of State Photo: Whit Keith, Jr.

Dempster McIntosh

Mr. McIntosh: In my opinion, our Government had done a great deal to encourage American private investment abroad. Our total private investments in the foreign field today run to a total of \$22 billion. Some of the steps that our Government has taken are: our Investment Guarantee Program; the maintenance of friendly relations with foreign countries which makes investments possible; the development of a favorable climate for investments; and also assistance with various Government agencies give to American manufacturers and investors in guiding them in making investments abroad.

I feel that the \$22 billion of American investments have made a great contribution to our rela-

tions with foreign countries. Those investments have provided employment abroad; they’ve helped the economy of those countries; they’ve helped them develop exports which have produced foreign exchange; they’ve increased political stability; they’ve raised standards of living. I think in every respect the results have been good. Our investments abroad are increasing very rapidly. The only trouble is that a very small proportion are in the underdeveloped countries, and I think we should try to facilitate investments in those countries.

Mr. Nixon: Now that you have had an opportunity to hear each member of our panel in answer to questions, I think it is only appropriate that we give the people in the audience who did not submit questions in writing before this session an opportunity to be heard. Do we have any questions from the audience?

The gentleman here is first before the microphone.

Are We Asking for Enough Money?

Question: Mr. Vice President, we’ve heard a great deal today from these gentlemen who are here on the platform, as well as those who spoke this morning, about the importance of this program, and I think most of us will admit that it is of transcendent importance. The question I have is: Is the proposed program adequate to the job? Is it enough? Is it adequate to do what we have to do?

Mr. Nixon: Mr. Dillon, I think as the Coordinator of the whole program we will give you the first shot at the answer to that question.

Mr. Dillon: I think that the amount of funds which we have requested this year is adequate for what we can spend during the coming year. There is just one thing that I would like to say, and that is that last year we requested that the Development Loan Fund be put on a more permanent basis so that we would have funds available to make longer range plans. Governor Stevenson mentioned that in his speech this morning. It is our intention now that next year, after the Development Loan Fund has been in operation for a long enough period so that we will have a record, we will make such a request of the Congress. I think when we have that long-range authority we will be in better shape than we are right now. But as far as funds are

concerned. I think that if we get the appropriations that we have requested—but not otherwise—will we be in perfectly adequate shape and ready to do the job that's before us.

Mr. Nixon: We have another question from the floor, and we will have one more from the floor before we return to the others.

Why Spend Money Abroad for Projects We Turn Down at Home?

Question: . . . Throughout the great West, Mr. Vice President, there are many, many reclamation projects that fit into our economy and into our defense protection. But under our present budgetary practice all new starts are being prohibited or banned in the name of economy. Yet I notice that in . . . foreign aid we are draining swamps in India and building dams in North Africa. How do you rationalize that?

Mr. Nixon: Well, I can say, Mr. Atherton, that you must have been psychic with regard to what some of your colleagues whom you probably have not met have also been thinking about. I have three other questions here that fall in that general category: One asking why, if the mines of Utah and the West are closed or closing, we help other people develop their mining areas? Second, why should we give money to develop agriculture and fisheries in foreign countries so that they can compete with us in world markets? And, third, why should we spend money to develop power potential in foreign countries when the President has said that he will not favor any money being spent on water resource development in the United States this year? In fact, western Congressmen of both parties are fighting with their lives on the floor of the House to restore a \$10 million cut by the Appropriations Committee in the vital Colorado River Project.

Now since this has the overtones of a political question, perhaps I should answer it, rather than expect those non-political people to answer.

I would be less than honest if I were not to say that there perhaps is no other single program that the President has asked for this year from the Congress that presents potentially more difficult political problems to Members of the House and Senate than this one. This is true for the reasons

that your question and the other questions that I have read imply. Frankly it is very easy to go about a Congressional District or a State and point out the great need for power development and flood control and agriculture and the like at home, then ask why we provide money for the same things abroad when we deny the needs at home?

Now the answer to the question, of course, is one that probably has been covered generally in the speeches this morning. If I were to give it in a concise form I think I would try to answer it this way. We *do* want to develop our own country. We want better reclamation, flood control, development of our agriculture and all of the resources of our country. But I would just like to suggest that we can have the finest reclamation program in the world, and all the flood control that anybody could possibly dream of, in hundreds of millions and billions of dollars, and it is not going to make any difference if we are not around to enjoy it.

Now, that of course is, I admit, a political answer to a very honest question. Let me go just a step further. As far as these various projects are concerned, we have to realize that in aiding these countries abroad in developing their water and power resources, as was suggested in Mr. Atherton's question, we are of course aiding ourselves. This we don't need to elaborate on at this point. I think we also have to realize that the alternative to providing the funds for the so-called "capital deficit" countries, to which this kind of economic assistance goes—the alternative is one that the United States and the Free World cannot accept, because it is one of these two things. It's either economic deterioration followed by political instability which allows the strongest minority group to take over—and that would be either a Fascist or a Communist group; or it is the other alternative which is to force these countries to turn somewhere else for aid. And I don't need to tell you that there are others in the world, apart from the Free World countries, who will offer the aid when we in the Free World do not take the opportunity to offer it ourselves.

And so, in the final analysis, I would sum it up this way. I recall that in World War II we also had no new starts in reclamation. And there was very little complaining about no new starts in rec-

lamation and in other projects during World War II because we were fighting a war for our survival. What we must understand now is that we are again fighting a war for our survival. It is not a military war at this point—it is an economic war. But it is a war that can destroy the independence and the liberty of free peoples just as surely as military war. And for that reason it is necessary for us to make choices, and it is necessary for us to make some sacrifices at home in order to wage the economic war that has already been launched against us and other free peoples abroad.

Why Not Give All Aid Through the United Nations?

Now just to show you that our questioners were listening to these speeches, I have one here that I think either Mr. Dillon or Mr. Smith would enjoy answering. Mr. Stevenson emphasized the need for economic aid being given without military strings, on a multilateral basis, and even with the cooperation of Russia. Why then should not all economic aid be given through the United Nations, which is already equipped to carry on an impartial, on-going, and competent technical assistance program? Mr. Dillon.

Mr. Dillon: I'll take a crack at that one, at least in the beginning. Carrying on economic aid, which means the use of large sums of money for capital development, is something quite different from Technical Assistance. Technical Assistance is being done by ourselves, bilaterally, and by the United Nations with great effect. The United States last year, in the General Assembly of the United Nations, supported, proposed, and carried through to adoption a program to greatly enlarge—about triple—the United Nations Technical Assistance program . . . we think it should be done to the greatest extent possible, and we believe in that sort of multilateral help.

Now when it comes to putting all capital development in the United Nations, quite different problems are posed. In the first place, the funds for capital development come, and they come solely, from a limited number of countries. The United Nations, as such, has no organization that is set up, and no means by which they could equitably divide those funds except on a purely political basis. This would certainly not be in the best interests of the

underdeveloped countries that want to move ahead. The one great international organization which has handled this development, and handled it successfully, is the World Bank. The World Bank has done a fine job just because it has resisted individual country pressures. It has been able to because it has been independent. With its particular set-up—none of the Soviet countries are members—the voting in the World Bank is weighted so that it can make its decisions based on what is thought to be economically best. They have directed their funds where they can do the most good. There simply are not enough funds in the world to go around to meet the desires of every one of the underdeveloped countries right away. And that is what we would be up against if we tried to handle our development assistance through the United Nations. It would have to be spread evenly on some sort of formula and a great deal of it would be wasted. Therefore, we are not in favor of that particular approach for capital development projects.

Is the Program Efficiently Administered?

Mr. Nixon: We have here a question that I know has been asked a great deal, because in my travels about the country I get it in virtually every forum session of this type. Assuming that the prevailing cynicism toward Mutual Security relates more to its administration than to the need for it, what can be done to reassure the American public that henceforth the program will be administered with greater efficiency and greater integrity? Now, Mr. Smith, since you have had a lot of practice answering that question before Congressional committees, why don't you try it here?

Mr. Smith: One of the first questions I asked myself when I came into this job about four months ago was, how many leaks were there actually in the ship that former President Truman spoke of this morning? And so I had a study made of all the critical remarks that had been made about the administration of the International Cooperation Administration. It turned out that there were about 69 identifiable criticisms. These have been analyzed very carefully during the last couple of months to see where the fire is behind this smoke. So far we have found four definite cases where the ICA has made mistakes, and these either have been rectified

or are in the process of being rectified. A very large number. I think something over 40, were not connected with or within the control of the administration. So I think that actually the ship doesn't have as many leaks as might have been indicated. But I do want to stress very carefully that if there are leaks, or if we do make mistakes, these will be corrected.

Now the question goes on a little further and raises the matter of how you are going to prevent mistakes. Well, this program is administered by not many more people than there are in this room, and they are all skillful people—they are selected from the broadest cross section of the American public. We have businessmen; we have people who are experts in government; we have good health people; we have good agricultural people and irrigation people. For my money, I don't think you could find a better collection to undertake this work.

There is one thing, however, that I would like to see and that I think would make a tremendous difference to this group. (I am now talking particularly about the couple of thousand Americans who are the only Americans today engaging in this competition with the Soviets. And these are the fellows—not working in Washington, not working in the capitals of other countries—but who are out in the field engaging directly with the people of the underdeveloped countries.) What they need, from my point of view, and I think from their own, is a strong vote of confidence and a clear indication that the moral determination of the American people is behind them. I feel very strongly that you cannot expect them to do this job well and enthusiastically and successfully unless that priceless ingredient is there—moral determination. I might say that I do not think it has been there, but I do feel very strongly that as the American people understand this program that it will be the propulsive force that really makes the program a success.

Mr. Nixon: Now, because he administers a great part of the program, in view of the fact that he is in charge of the military side; and also because he has returned just recently from a trip to the various countries in which we have military programs, I think Mr. Sprague would like to comment on this question.

Mr. Sprague: Military assistance, too, has been a target for some criticism, primarily from the General Accounting Office which is responsible to the Congress. We have been busily engaged for the past week in a hearing before Congressional committees answering these criticisms.

I would like to point out first that there has never been a criticism based on corruption, fraud, wrong-doing or negligence. The criticisms are based on programming inadequacies, in the main.

I would like to make this comment: That while we are correcting the deficiencies as rapidly as our experience will permit us, the fact that we have been able to administer this program at all in the space of eight short years since the military program started, is to me an amazing tribute to the American people and those who have administered this program. The collective security system which binds the United States with some 40 other free countries is one of the outstanding accomplishments of diplomacy in the Twentieth Century. These people are our friends; they want our military help; they are getting it. The fact that with no previous experi-



U.S. Army Photo

Mansfield D. Sprague

ence in this type of operation, American military and civilian officials have been able to render an accomplishment which has, in my opinion, contributed a major part to the peace we now have, and the fact that this has been done with no experience prior to 1950 is something for which the American people should be thankful.

I believe that better administration of this program and the other programs is possible. We are dedicating ourselves to that task. Let's not let carping criticism from a few sources about some mismanagement and some inefficiencies defeat a program which is absolutely vital to the security of this country.

Some Waste Is Inevitable

Mr. Nixon: Thank you, Mr. Sprague. I can not resist the temptation to just add a word because both of these people obviously being close to the program would be assumed to have partisan interest. I have traveled a bit also during the past five years and have visited almost 40 countries in which we have had programs—economic or military—of some size. I think the problem is one that we recognize as inevitable. First of all this is a new field for the United States. It is much easier to develop programs, for example, within the United States than it is outside the United States—whether those programs are developed by private enterprise or by government. I would only suggest that many of the great American corporations, the private corporations that invest abroad, also have had waste and inefficiencies in the early years of their operations.

The second thing that I would say is to underline what both Mr. Sprague and Mr. Smith have suggested, and that is that we must look at the whole picture and not just at a part of it. Some waste is going to be inevitable. It is our intention—and we shall continue to work—to eliminate it as much as we possibly can. We must look at the end result, and I use a specific example to bring it home. I was in Iran just four and a half years ago. This was immediately after Mr. Mossadegh had gone out and Mr. Egbal had come into power. Since that time we have spent millions of dollars needed for economic assistance in Iran. Several articles have been written with regard to the waste in that program. There probably has been some waste, and there undoubtedly has been some inefficiency, but the important

thing is that today Iran is not behind the Iron Curtain and is solidly on the side of the free nations.

So the question is, would it have been better because of the waste to have stopped the program or to have cut it too much and have run the risk of losing this part of the Free World to the Communist world, or is it better to have done what we did do?—which was to continue forward, getting rid of the waste whenever we could, but not giving up because there were some inefficient operations or because there were criticisms. I think on its face it is clear that in this instance the decision was right to continue the aid to Iran, and we could repeat that for country after country around the world.

May I just suggest finally in that connection that when it comes to providing funds for the National Defense—the military—we find, particularly in the present temper of the Congress, there is more sympathy for this kind of aid because the people want to be sure that we have enough airplanes, enough missiles and guns to protect our country and deter a possible war. But I think our military leaders would be the first to admit that there is waste in defense, not only in war but in peacetime as well, and there is also waste and inefficiency in economic aid. But we get back to the basic proposition again; what we must realize is that the economic conflict is at this time just as important and potentially, in my opinion, more dangerous to the United States and the Free World than the possibility of military conflict. Therefore, we must take the bad with the good; we must work constantly to improve our aid operations; but we must not lose our nerve or our determination because of the criticisms that inevitably will come. I might say more properly should come, because we want to know of shortcomings in the programs, and we will do everything we can, of course, to improve them and make them more acceptable.

Do We Have Too Many American Technicians Abroad?

Question: Mr. Vice President, I think you once said you thought there were too many Americans abroad. I want you to clarify that statement for us . . . because I am very concerned. Do you think that we have too many people abroad, or perhaps not the right kind of people?

Mr. Nixon: The answer to your question is, first, I would not quarrel with any newspaper person who may have written a story with regard to what my views have been. However, I can say that as far as my support on the Technical Assistance Program, which I assume you are referring to, that as Mr. Smith and Mr. Dillon and others well know, I have supported not only the present amount but in addition, I believe that amount should be and could be more than it is. I have found that the Technical Assistance Program generally is one of the best investments we have made abroad, and it is a very small program dollar-wise, when you think of \$157 or \$160 million as compared with \$11 billion for defense.

Now getting to the personnel problem, there is a problem, I think we would have to admit, with regard to Americans abroad, when we have too many of them in the wrong places. And as far as the Technical Assistance Program is concerned, I would say that my general observation has been that we sometimes have a tendency to concentrate too many of our people in headquarters and the capital of the country, rather than sending them through the country and letting them permeate the various activities in which they are to engage.

I can not tell you how impressed I have been in tramping around in some of the areas in which our Technical Assistance people are located—how impressed I have been with people from agriculture, from the various activities of American life who work with the native peoples in these countries helping them to develop new skills that will enable them to support themselves better.

I would only suggest in arguing this point, first, that the Technical Assistance requested by the President is certainly a bare minimum. It should not be reduced. If anything I would hope that Congress could increase it. I do not expect it will, but I think it could do so without doing anything which would be harmful to the National Security in any respect.

The second thing I would say—with regard to administration—we must constantly re-examine the administration of—these programs. We must not assume, simply because the program is one that we support, that it is being administered in the most effective way. That is why I feel that in all of these

programs we should examine them to see whether, for example, it is possible to move more personnel out of capitols of these countries into the field. I personally think that is possible, and I know Mr. Smith has been examining that problem within his own shop.

Now, finally with regard to the training of these people I must say this. With all the criticisms of the people in the Foreign Aid Program, let us just have in mind this fact, that these people do not have a career service. For the most part they are not in the foreign service of the United States with the career protections that being in government service and in foreign service carry.

For the most part, these are people who go abroad for two, three or four years. They go abroad, frankly, at the temper of the American people and the temper of the American Congress. They take a risk, and I can only say that while there are some who are not up to par, as you can expect in government or in business, for the most part, we can be thankful we have so many good, dedicated people in this program. All I want is to get more of that kind.

Question: (Inaudible) . . . how about giving our young people a chance to get into the service . . . ?

Mr. Nixon: I might suggest in that connection that in order to get and to keep the quality of people we need in this program it is going to be necessary, first to develop long-range thinking and long-range planning and long-range support from the Congress. Second, it is going to be necessary to provide for these people not only training but also some additional security over what they presently have.

Now I know various suggestions have been made, for example, setting up something similar to the protection the foreign service has. Whatever plans there may be, they should be given the most serious consideration, because there is no question about what our potential opponents are doing.

The Russians today are training technical personnel, not only by the hundreds but by the thousands. They are giving them training in language, they are giving them training in the customs of the countries. They send them throughout the world; and whatever we may think of the

Communist system, do not underestimate how effective these people are. They are no more dedicated than our people, but they are getting, in some instances, even better training than ours get. And so with this challenge presented it is up to us not only to find a way to match them but to exceed them, and I think we will be able to do so.

Do We Need a Second World Bank?

Now can I go to one of my questions here again? Do we need a second World Bank to make long-term low interest loans to underdeveloped countries? The new agency would be limited to making loans which the World Bank, under present regulations, must reject. I would suppose Mr. Dillon, as a former investment banker, might answer that question.

Mr. Dillon: That question is very close to a resolution which was put into the Senate yesterday by Senator Monroney, and it has received some publicity in the press. This concept is quite different from the concept to which I addressed myself previously; namely, financing development assistance through the United Nations.

There are only a couple of complaints about setting up another World Bank, which would operate presumably on a softer loan basis, making use of these local currencies we hear so much about. The proposals I have seen so far use the regular formula of the World Bank—subscriptions under which we pick up about one-third of the money in convertible currencies and other countries of the world put up the other two-thirds. This has proved possible, although they all did not put up the money at first as in the case of the World Bank, because the World Bank, operating on a hard-money basis, has been able to borrow a lot on its own. That money is borrowed primarily in the United States, although some is borrowed in Switzerland and some of the other more prosperous European countries. Therefore, the percentage that was actually put up, compared to loans that were made to the underdeveloped countries, was very small.

Any new organization which could operate on a soft-loan basis would not be able to borrow money in the public marketplace, but would have to rely entirely on subscriptions. I think there is real doubt that other countries would be interested or would be able, even if they were interested, to put up convertible currencies in that proportion.

When it comes to using these local currencies, unfortunately there are some great difficulties involved. Local currencies are only a call on the goods of the countries in question, so obviously when we are trying to develop India and help India by putting funds into India, it does not make sense to ask India to supply locomotives, and other goods which she needs so much herself, to develop, say, Iran.

Therefore, except for the local currencies which may be available in some of the European countries, and the amounts of these are small, I think that the use of local currencies is very limited except in the countries in which they belong. Of course you can use the Indian currencies in India, use them in conjunction with the World Bank loans, and you can use them in conjunction with Export-Import Bank loans. We are using them already with some of our Public Law 480 currencies.

Nevertheless, I think there is a germ of an idea here that is well worth studying to see whether there is a possibility of the other countries putting up their share—whether there is a way such an institution could be brought into being and function adequately.

How Encourage Private Investment Abroad?

Mr. Nixon: Thank you Mr. Dillon. Right along that line, Mr. McIntosh, you answered a question a little earlier in regard to private investment abroad and encouragement of those investments. I notice that there are several questions in this field with regard to encouragement of private investment. Mention is made of the fact that Mr. Dulles and Mr. Stevenson both stress the importance of continuity and long-range programs of economic development assistance. This question perhaps is one that you might want to comment upon. Has any thought been given to the adoption of an international agreement, a Magna Charta, so to speak, for the protection of such an investment, including the establishment of an international court to handle disputes from expropriation, confiscation and nationalization? I believe this refers to a proposal made at the International Development Conference in San Francisco. I realize it does not relate directly to the problem of your fund, but would you give us an off-the-cuff answer on that?

Mr. McIntosh: Regarding the first part of the

question. In the Development Loan Fund, we hope through many of our loans to create opportunities for private investment—and, as I mentioned before, our private investments are growing. Last year our investments totaled about \$2.8 billion, bringing the present total to \$22 billion. I feel that we need to take steps to encourage increased private investment in the underdeveloped countries, and I feel that the activities of the Development Loan Fund will aid in that respect. That is, we hope through our loans to improve the economics of those countries, to help them develop foreign exchange, to increase employment, and through those means to improve conditions, which will lead to further private investment.

It is difficult to give the private investor every protection, but we do have an investment guarantee program which gives protection against confiscation and also guarantees the convertibility of the funds. I think the investor abroad must take the chance of commercial risk that he takes at home.

Danny Kaye Discusses UNICEF

Mr. Nixon: I have a question here, incidentally, which is not directed to anybody here in the panel. It seems that somebody would like Danny

Kaye, if he is here, to answer this question. Do you feel that your work with UNICEF has demonstrated that foreign aid can be effective, based on your experience with UNICEF? What do you feel is the reaction to foreign aid on the part of the recipients? Is Danny Kaye present?

While he is coming to the microphone, I might say the other day my 12-year-old daughter had a birthday party and we went to see a movie. The movie is really a delightful movie, not only for 12-year-olds but for those of us who are a little older. Danny Kaye plays the part of an English schoolteacher, and it is a wonderful job. It is called *Merry Andrew*—.

Mr. Danny Kaye: Mr. Vice President, and ladies and gentlemen, this was sprung on me with a great deal of surprise this afternoon—I intended to come here merely as an . . . observer. I can speak with absolutely no authority on anything.

I have been here since early this morning, and I have heard a great deal about foreign aid. It would be unwise and certainly foolhardy on my part to ever take an active part in any political discussion. However, this question which was asked about UNICEF, which is the United Nations Children's Emergency Fund, whether it does any good



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In animated discussion during a break in the proceedings are left to right, Danny Kaye, Ralph Bunche and Myrna Lay.

to the recipients. I think I can speak with a little authority. I would merely like to say that people in my profession—a profession of which I am intensely proud—have some extracurricular activities. It might be the Heart Fund, the Cancer Society, or children's activities. I, for one, have been active in children's activities since I was a child and probably never outgrew it and that is why I am able to work well in it.

I was extremely honored and delighted to be a part of an organization called UNICEF, and when I hear so much about the long-range point of view from an economic standpoint—the long-range point of view of friendship—the long-range point of view about how we can live in a more peaceful and humane world, it occurs to me that the greatest beginning that you can have, as far as the long-range point of view is concerned, is to begin with the children of the world who will inherit this earth long after we are gone. I will have no great legacy of wealth to leave my child, but I want to make any effort I can to secure mutual understanding among people throughout the world. I think we can start at a very salient point with children.

It is a very simple matter to travel around the world and see sick and hungry children who behave exactly like the kid does around the corner. It is a very, very touching thing to see a child who is sick or hungry or has no home offered a hand in sympathy, offered a hand in love, offered a hand in friendship, offered a hand of help. Thousands of people have devoted their lives, their energies and their emotions—people of all nationalities, all religious denominations, all colors and all creeds banded together in one common effort—to see that the children of the world have some chance to achieve maturity and take their rightful place in this world. That is one of the most inspiring things I have ever seen in my life. And through the mass media of communications that we now have—television, motion pictures, newspapers, people leaving the country and traveling abroad (whether or not there are too many Americans in one place)—I honestly and firmly believe that in those ways if we come to understand the problem of the world's children, the world will be well on the way to understanding itself a little better.

Mr. Nixon: Just one moment . . . Danny Kaye said he wasn't in politics . . . but if he ever

wants to run for anything, watch out. He'll win!

Now we have a question from the floor here.

Why Develop Our Competitors?

Mr. Nixon: The question as to whether or not the temper of the country is ready for the type of sacrifice needed is, of course, one that will be determined within the next three or four months and by what happens after this conference. The answer to this question would require much more time than we can take on this panel, and I can only suggest that certainly as we consider the tremendous industrial and agricultural potential of the United States, we must realize that our prosperity is directly related to the prosperity of the developed countries of Western Europe and also to those newly developing countries in other parts of the world.

Let us consider Canada to the north and Mexico to the south. Together they represent by far the best customers we have in the world economically. Now, this is the case because these countries—and I speak particularly of Mexico which was not too long ago a much underdeveloped country which has come along so rapidly—have developed tremendously both industrially and economically in the past few years. They have of course developed to some extent as competitors of the United States, but they have also become customers of the United States. I don't think that anyone would want to suggest that this has not been beneficial mutually, to us as well as to our friends from Mexico and from Canada.

The same pattern can certainly be applied to Western Europe, where the expenditures of the Marshall Plan could, I think, very easily be justified on the basis that the recovery of Western Europe has meant so much to the United States economically because of the trade that has resulted and will result in the future from a revitalized Western Europe economy—trade that otherwise would not be possible. When we consider the tremendous potential of Africa, of Asia, of the Near East, we see again that while it is true that developing these countries industrially does produce temporary problems of competition in industry and agriculture, in the end the development of one country economically does not hurt an already developed country at all. This is something we learn only by experience. It is a lesson which must be learned by the American

people through repetition and education over a long period of time, because it is much easier in a political year, as I indicated a moment ago, to go about the country and point out that everything we do to help anybody abroad takes something from us here at home. The opposite is actually the case. Can I go on to this question?

Question: (Partly inaudible). The most important thing in the individual's life is himself. Yet we send . . . money across the seas to support communism and socialism in our . . . programs It seems a little foolhardy to spend our dollars to enable our allies to go under that system Why do we spend our capitalistic dollars to raise the children of Europe knowing that they have to turn to the state for the most important material things in their lives? . . . American Medical Association . . . capitalistic medicine rather than socialistic medicine.

Mr. Nixon: I would like to defer the answer to that question because Eric Johnston has submitted two or three, sent up directly to the platform. Your question is related to them, so I will defer the answer and take one more from the audience. Oh, I am sorry, we have two. Well, we will take two more, then.

Question: (Inaudible) . . . Kirsten Amendment . . . ?

Mr. Nixon: This question relates to the Kirsten Amendment. Right? The Kirsten Amendment will be described by Mr. Dillon and he will comment upon it.

Mr. Dillon: The Kirsten Amendment, for those of you who may not know, as I understand it, is an amendment that was put into the Mutual Security Bill a number of years ago to enable us to spend a certain amount of money to train people who may have escaped from Communist-dominated lands and to incorporate them into the military formations of NATO. It is a part of the law. What we are doing this year is merely asking for a renewal of the law and amending it where necessary. The kind of amendments we are making are only to change the amount of money to be appropriated, and so forth.

The answer to the question whether we are going to specifically ask that this law be repealed—the answer is, no, we are not asking that. However,

we are not asking any more money to be used specifically for this purpose. The money is available now under the appropriation and could be used in the future as it could be used in the past. Actually, we have not been able to use it to any great extent.

Mr. Nixon: Mr. Johnston tells me that we will go for just a few more minutes.

Dr. Laubach

Question: We have been talking about a program for the undeveloped areas. I think it would be appropriate if we heard from a man who has worked in more undeveloped areas than any other man and with more people. I believe Dr. Frank Laubach is here.

Mr. Nixon: I must say that Dr. Laubach has a background of service in many of these countries. He has been a missionary of good will for the United States. If he would like to say a few words at this point, we will be glad to hear from him. Will you take that microphone right back there.

Dr. Laubach: (Inaudible) . . . I know that at least 100 million people in the United States are deeply in sympathy with the hungry multitudes who . . . are being told we hate them. And we have got to show them that we loathe and hate the people who enslave them just as much as they do. That we are their friends I think that in addition this first conference ought to stimulate the people of the United States to a full program of trying to convince those people what we really are. I think that the people of the United States are ready for it . . . perhaps Sputnik made us ready for it . . . and I think that if we are to challenge the people of the United States they would rise to the need

Question: I have in mind what Danny Kaye said about children. And in view of the emphasis which speakers here this morning place on the long-range need for mutual security, the thought occurred to me that it might serve a mutual purpose to arouse greater interest in the program among the youth of the country. With that thought in mind, may I ask that we submit to the Chair a written proposal for the consideration of those who will deal with this problem after this conference.

Mr. Nixon: I would say that Mr. Johnston will probably answer that question in the later panel.

Tunisian Episode

Question: (Partly inaudible) I am all for mutual aid. It is a wonderful thing . . . but certainly in the name of humanity it would seem we ought to have some sort of protection against misuse of our equipment against people . . . I want to know if any precautions of that kind have ever been taken.

Mr. Nixon: Would you like to answer that, Mr. Dillon?

Mr. Dillon: In our agreements for furnishing military equipment, we do have specific understandings that the equipment will not be used except for the purposes for which it is given, which are meant to be for the common defense. Some of the equipment which was used in that terrible episode you mention was equipment furnished in our Military Assistance Program. Some of it was not. We are looking into that now with the greatest of care. Although we have information from the French Government about it, this is a very difficult problem. There is no excuse for using that equipment to go and attack children . . . do things such as you saw. However, the French Government for various legal reasons feels that they have a right to use this equipment in their own defense in Algeria. We will certainly make every effort that we can to be sure that no more of our equipment is used in any affair such as that recent bombing in Tunisia, which is to be deplored.

Puerto Rico's Achievement

Question: I come from Puerto Rico—a part of the United States. Puerto Rico 15 years ago was an undeveloped area. In the past 15 years we have changed to a fast-developing area. The most important thing is that in this area there was a well thought-out program, well planned to develop every aspect of our country. It was understood by everyone in Puerto Rico and had the support of everyone, government as well as private industry. We feel that in every undeveloped area there are unique problems. Certainly we have had them in Puerto Rico. My question is, do we, before getting into an undeveloped area, prepare such a program and make certain that it is well balanced in the same way that private businesses make sure that they coordinate production, sales, public relations, and personnel?

Mr. Nixon: I will ask Mr. Smith to comment on that question if he will.

Mr. Smith: Every now and again in looking at some of the countries we are working in you get a bit discouraged because they are really very undeveloped. But the most encouraging thing I know of is then to turn your eyes to Puerto Rico and see what was done there. I am very glad that you brought up the question. We have just had a conference in Puerto Rico, looking at the ways and means of the job that was done there in a country that was brought up from a low level of poverty to a fine tradition today economically, politically, and in every other sense. We are using that as an example. The Governor of Puerto Rico has been very generous in offering us the facilities to bring people there from all over the world so they can see it as a show window of what can be done.

Mr. Nixon: May I just add to what Mr. Smith has said regarding Puerto Rico that I visited there on my Latin American trip a couple of years ago. I should say Mrs. Nixon's and mine because she is the real good-will ambassador of the team. We visited Puerto Rico and I was tremendously impressed by "Operation Bootstrap." Not only people from the neighboring countries of the Latin American area but people from Asia, Africa, and elsewhere go to Puerto Rico to see what has been done there. The leadership that has been provided by the people of Puerto Rico and by Governor Munoz Morin is something that all Americans can certainly point to with pride.

Now we have reached the point where if we do not finish this panel you will not get to hear the very provocative suggestions made by the next panel.

Why Do We Help Neutrals and Contribute to Socialization?

There is, however, one question which was delayed and which I will comment upon if I may. You recall that the essence of the question was, "Why is it that, in our foreign aid program, we, in effect, contribute to the socialization of basic institutions abroad, in Europe and Africa and various countries that we aid." The particular question of course related to the socialization—or the nationalization, shall we call it—of medicine, and this of course raises a very controversial problem and an important one.

Related to that problem is another one, which is the question referred to a moment ago. This one is a very direct question. It says: "Foreign aid has not made any friends for us so far in the underdeveloped countries. Foreigners just think we are soft touches. They accept our giveaways and then either say they are neutrals or go over to the Communists."

There have been some related questions in that field which I will not comment upon, but I do think that when we get to the nub of the problem we inevitably reach this conclusion. As far as the military side of Mutual Security is concerned, it is relatively easy to justify and to sell, to Congressmen, to Senators, or the country at large. Because you can sell it not only on the basis of national security, building up to the strength that is necessary to deter war—you can also sell it on the basis of strict economy. It costs less to do it this way than the other way.

Mr. McElroy this morning I know went into this, giving you the figures, for the various countries, of maintaining one of their soldiers in their own country as compared with the \$3,500 a year which it costs to maintain one American abroad. What the military thing gets down to is this (and this is \$3 billion of the \$4 billion package—\$3 billion when we add the Defense Support, which of course is directly related to it): As far as the Military Assistance is concerned, what we are doing is simply providing the funds to maintain the forces on the perimeter of the Communist empire, forces that have to be maintained, not only for the defense and security of the countries in which those forces are located, but also for our own defense. And if these forces were not maintained by the Koreans, by the Formosans, by the South Viet-Nameese, by the Turks and our friends in Western Europe with our help, we would have to do the job alone. On the average it would cost us in dollars, purely apart from the manpower, five times as much at least to maintain the same level of military strength abroad that we currently have with the \$3 billion.

So the question there, I say, is pretty simple. It is a question of whether you want to spend \$15 billion to defend the United States and the Free World through these forces abroad or to spend \$3 billion. Of course, I know that there are those who suggest, "Well, let them have it all, let us just get back to

the United States." Well, then we can think in terms of spending ten times as much because it would cost that much in the event that we did not have the bases and the assistance that we have from abroad. That justification is pretty good, and I do not anticipate too much difficulty in getting what we need as far as military security or military aid to allies to the United States is concerned.

But this gets me to the question at hand—aid to underdeveloped countries. Several of the speakers have touched on this particular problem very effectively and very eloquently. I think I mentioned before that I visited most of the underdeveloped—or as I prefer to call them, newly developing—countries in Asia and Africa to which this aid goes. What we are talking about is approximately a billion dollars. It consists of technical aid of \$150 million or so, the President's emergency fund of \$200 million, the Development Loan Fund of \$625 million, a total package of about \$1 billion.

Now we recognized at the outset that this money does not all go to allies of the United States; that is where the military aid comes in. So we can not justify this billion dollars on the ground that it all goes to allies. Much of it goes to what we must call—for the moment—neutrals in the world struggle as between the United States and the Soviet Union or between the Allied World and the Soviet world. I say the Allied World rather than the Free World because, make no mistake about it, the uncommitted nations that I speak about are free nations. This is part of the answer to the question.

I think it would be well to take one country, one of the most controversial as a matter of fact, one that has been mentioned many times in this discussion today—India. People often say to me: "Mr. Vice President, why do we provide \$275 million to India for their five-year plan when it is going to be used to socialize various institutions there? Why do we provide this money when Mr. Nehru from time to time criticizes the United States even more vehemently than those representatives of the Soviet Union?" We hear further arguments of those against aid to India; for example, "Why did we give aid to India when Mr. Krishna Menon of the United Nations seldom votes with the United States on key problems when the Soviet Union is on the other side?" And then we get down to this basic question: "Why do we aid a country abroad, why do we try to

provide economic aid when it does not buy friends for us?"

Now what is the answer to that? The answer is very simple. The purpose of the economic assistance program of the United States is not to buy friends. If it were, we might as well cut it out completely because the people in Asia, Africa and the Near East are proud people, and as far as these people are concerned they would resent—and they should—any effort on our part or on the part of any other country to buy their friendship with economic assistance. That is why the loan program is more effective than the grant program for these countries. They would prefer to have a business arrangement rather than to be in the position of a pauper as against the one who is rich.

So some may suggest—well, if we don't buy friends with these programs why do we do it at all? Of course the answer to that is that it is in the interest of the United States. In those underdeveloped countries and newly developing countries in Asia, Africa, and the Near East, it is in our interest, our self-interest to provide help economically, so that they can be strong enough to be economically independent and thereby politically independent of foreign domination, even of the United States. That is what we must say and that is what we believe.

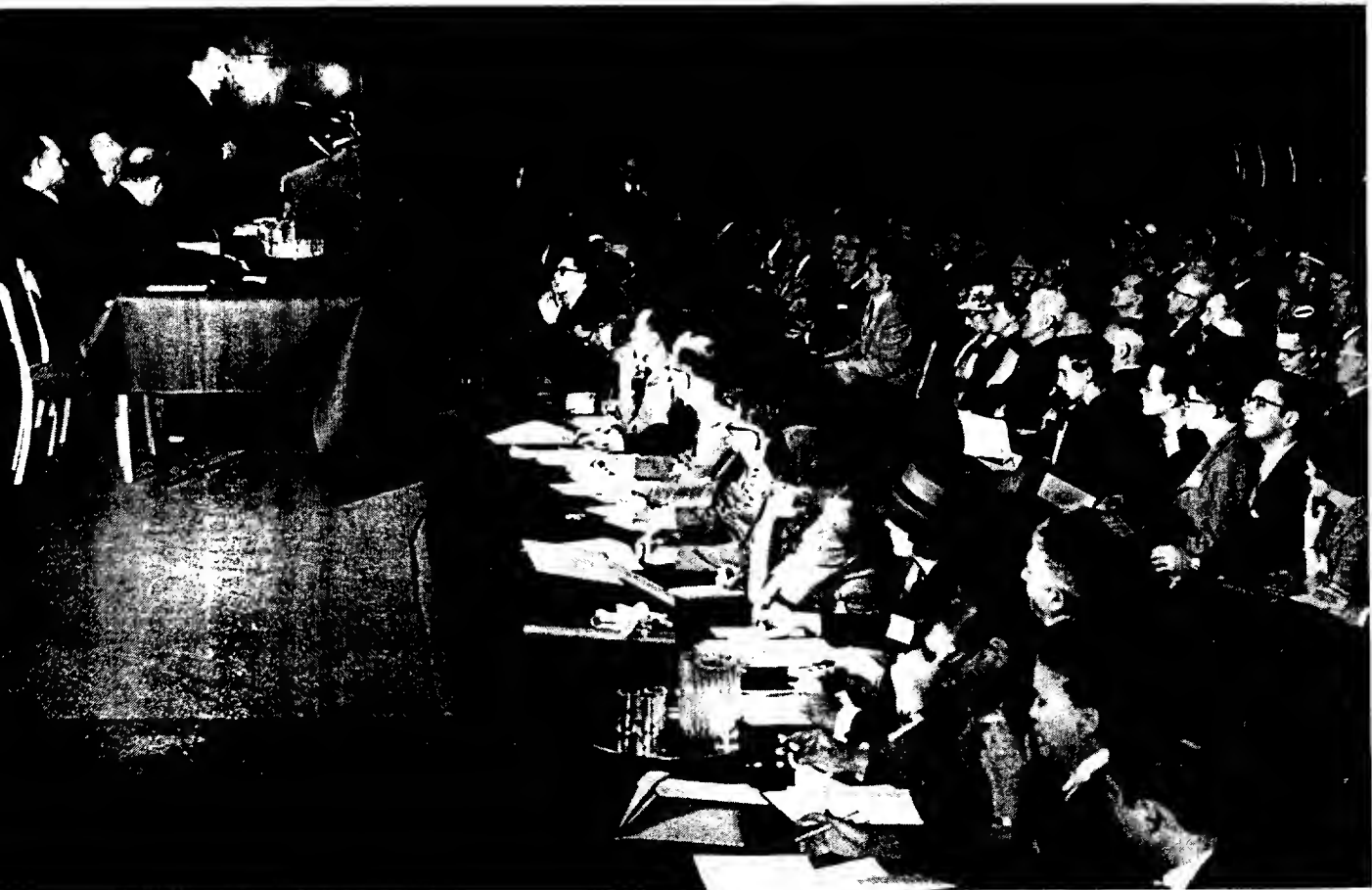
Now how does this make sense? Well, it makes sense for a very important reason. Because what is the whole aid program all about? What it is all about has been repeated over and over again—we are engaged at the present time in a great world conflict, a world conflict in which some of the most effective weapons are not military, they are economic. Because we are engaged in that conflict it is vitally important that we fight it on all sides. What is our opponent in this conflict? We know what it is—international communism. What is the major opponent of international communism—what is the mortal enemy of international communism in any place in the world? It is national independence. If you can make a country strong enough to be independent of foreign domination, the Communists have then lost the battle they are trying to win.

Therefore, let us take India—if India is independent and is strong enough economically, then they will be able to retain that independence. I say this is in our interest. And let us also not forget that it is far better for India or any one of these countries

to be independent, to be neutral, to be uncommitted than to be on the Communist side. Now may I say on the plus side as far as India is concerned, we should not assume that here is a country that is just the next thing to communism. Because whatever we may think of the government of India, whatever disagreement we may have with the leaders of India, we must remember some fundamental things. They have the same great tradition of common law that we have; they have the same belief in freedom of speech and freedom of press that we have. As far as their economy is concerned, there are parts of it that are nationalized. Mr. Mehta, the Indian Ambassador, told me a few weeks ago, however, that the greater part of industrialized India is private enterprise rather than government enterprise.

So this brings us to the question asked by the gentleman a moment ago—Do we finance socialism abroad? And my answer is this. If the United States in its aid to these countries deliberately places conditions and strings on those programs we may as well not have them at all. As far as we are concerned we believe that our system of government, our dedication to private enterprise is the best kind of system for us. We may also think it is the best kind of system for other countries, but we must also remember that the conditions in each country vary, the tradition in each country varies, and the leaders and the people in each country must have the same right we have to choose the kind of economy and the kind of government they want.

So summarizing this reply, might I just suggest this: We spend a billion dollars in economic assistance abroad. I personally think it is rock bottom as far as the amount is concerned. I personally believe that United States interests could be served by spending more in this field than we currently are spending. But there are limitations, of course—limitations which I recognize and which you recognize. But I can also say that as far as our self-interest is concerned, let us never forget that the question is not that we are buying friends. This is not the purpose of the program. The question is: By this program are we making countries around the world strong, independent members of the community of nations? If they are independent, if they are strong, this, then is the answer to communism; because international communism, I repeat, is completely incompatible with national independence.



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PANEL ON POST-CONFERENCE EDUCATION



Fabian Bachrach



Thomas & Kitchel

Hon. Eric Johnston, *Chairman of the Conference*
Mr. Erle Cocke, Jr., Mrs. J. Ramsay Harris
Co-Chairmen of the Conference

Hon. Chester E. Merrow, *Member, House of Representatives*
Hon. A. S. J. Carnahan, *Member, House of Representatives*



Mr. Cocke: We are now at that stage in the program where we would like to indicate to you that we have a very good friend here today in the person of Governor Orville Freeman of Minnesota. He is one of the co-chairmen of the National Conference on International Economic and Social Development which will meet here tomorrow. They are tackling many of the same types of questions that we are—for instance, the role of non-governmental organizations in the techniques of assistance in economic development, and the work of the United Nations in the Far East, the Middle East, and Africa. They have asked that we cordially invite you to attend the meeting. Registration is now going on outside of the Congressional Room in the lobby.

We sincerely hope that you have been satisfied in coming to this conference. We regret that there was an overflow. We are now at the point in the

conference of determining what the activity today amounted to, and where do you want to go from here? We hope the questions have been as bi-partisan as possible, maybe as embarrassing as you would like. We think the program was as well balanced as possible in the limited time of a one-day conference.

I certainly feel that we need no introduction of Eric Johnston, who handled a tremendous job at the President's request. And I am sure that Mrs. Harris joins with me in saying that we are delighted to be associated with him in this particular effort.

We are especially pleased to have as members of this panel two United States Congressmen who are in a very good position to comment on post-conference activities and post-conference education as a result of this meeting. They determined several years ago that it was essential to have a con-

stantly closing gap between the American people and American foreign policy. As members of the Foreign Affairs Committee they have been doing just that type of job—holding public meetings and hearings throughout our country, where they have had an opportunity to talk to many groups such as we have here.

I would like to present to you, together, because both of them will participate in this panel together, as they have all over this country—first, Representative A. S. J. Carnahan of the 8th District of Missouri, and Representative Chester E. Merrow of the 1st District of New Hampshire—a Democrat and a Republican.

I would certainly like to entertain questions from the floor, but not in the same sense of the panel which just preceded this one. Instead, we would like to ask some questions of you. In substance, we wanted the organizational people of this country to assemble, and we are appreciative of your attendance. We believe you are as good a cross-section as it would be possible to assemble, especially since we had only three weeks' time to make the arrangements and send out invitations. We would like to have your opinions as to whether it was worthwhile and whether it should be continued—if it should, under what group—and any other question that has not been covered in some earlier discussion. I think all of you are aware that the President of the United States is speaking tonight. There will be no other speaker at the dinner meeting, so this has to be the wrap-up of the conference.

Who would like to take the first question in giving us advice as to what you would like to have us do, considering the type of educational job needed—which I think all of you recognize as a result of past experiences.

Question: We are aware of the various organizations within our country and what they have done as individual organizations on other issues such as this one. But individual groups or a one-day conference cannot solve this urgent problem. Is it possible that we will have to organize a national committee immediately to make clear these factors affecting our security?

Mr. Cocke: Thank you very much. Another question here?

Question: (Partly inaudible) . . . I think that a central committee would do a great job rep-

resenting all of these organizations . . . throughout the country. They require some central source through which they can furnish information and help . . .

Mr. Cocke: We are glad to get that comment.

Question: (Partly inaudible) . . . I happen to be a minister, a minister of the Lutheran Church. I was wondering whether we should take part in a meeting such as this without dwelling on a very important phase of American life in its early history, and a phase which should not be overlooked today. When I think of George Washington . . . I see him kneeling in prayer . . . And on reading Lincoln lore I am impressed by the fact that Lincoln stated that he spent many a night in prayer because he had no one on whom he could rely but God . . . I am wondering whether at a meeting such as this we ought not to take into account that we should manifest our trust in God more than we do . . .

Mr. Cocke: Thank you very much. I think this is a good place to ask our two distinguished Congressmen about the reactions of the audiences they talked to in their travels. I think that ties in with the reaction of you people in this audience. Which one would like to start off? They are such a good team, I don't know which one should lead.

Mr. Merrow: It certainly is a pleasure to be here and say a few words. My good friend Congressman Carnahan and I did not know we were to say anything at this conference until about noon-time, but I do not suppose that gets any sympathy from anybody because of the fact that Congressmen are supposed to be able to talk anywhere. It is said they will talk anywhere, any time, for any length of time, on any subject, no matter whether they know anything about it or not.

But we are delighted to be here and speak for a moment on this panel on post-conference education. May I say at the beginning that it is very heartwarming to see so many people here today and to see such enthusiasm for the Mutual Security Program. It is an indication that the people are tremendously interested and that there is great enthusiasm for the continuation of this program. It has been our privilege, through the sponsorship of the American Association for the United Nations and cooperating agencies, to have traveled for about four weeks in various sections of the country, in-

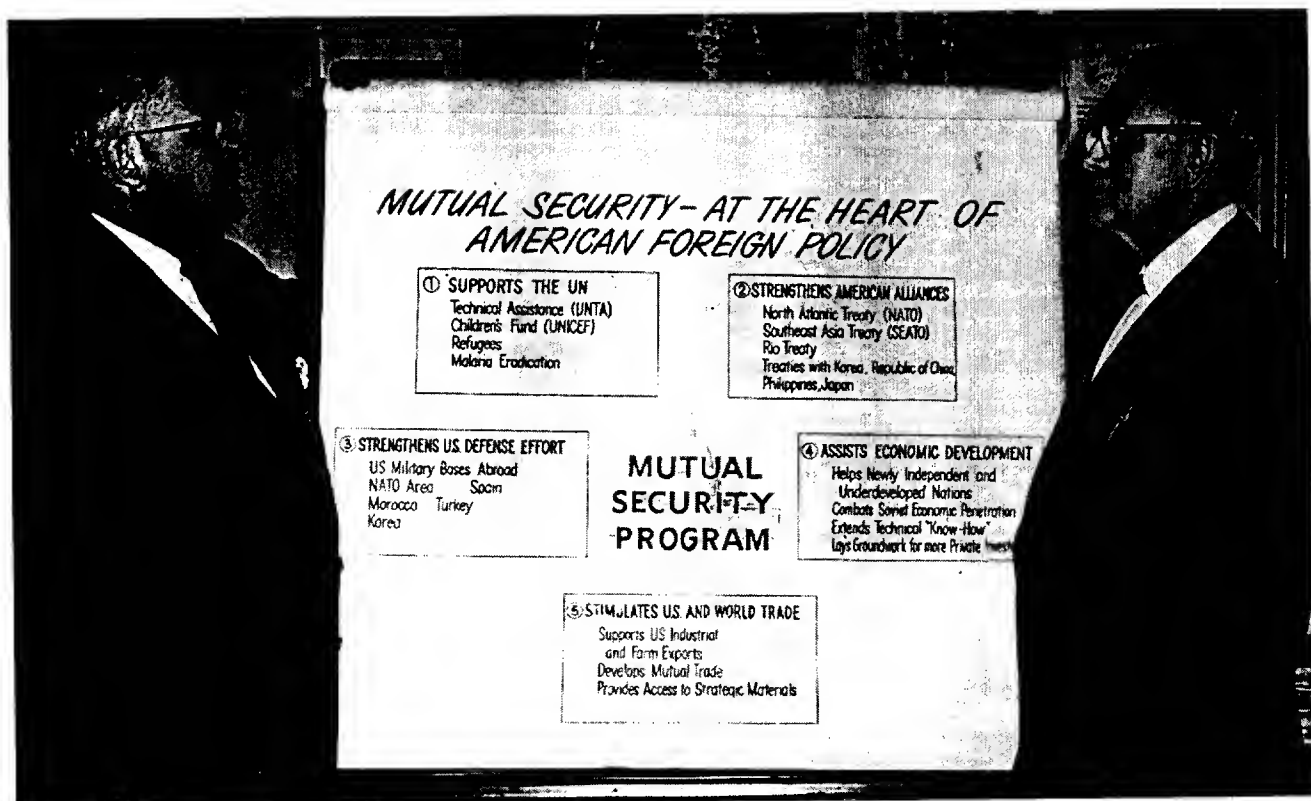
cluding the West, the Northwest, the Middle West, and the Southwest, in support of the Mutual Security Program, commonly termed Foreign Aid. I was very glad to hear the lady say a few moments ago that we ought to get away from calling it foreign aid because actually it is American aid.

We have had the opportunity of speaking in about 32 cities in 21 states. I believe we have given about 40 platform addresses on the first tour and 40 on the second, making about 80 platform speeches; appeared on television 25 or 30 times; and on radio programs 25 or 30 times; and had several press conferences. These various meetings have included service clubs, mass meetings, meetings of all types and always we have thrown the meetings open for questions.

I think you might be interested in the results. We found that people everywhere are intensely interested in foreign policy. We also found that in the question periods there was a minimum of hostility to the so-called foreign aid program. And we found

that once the benefits of the program were understood and the program explained there was enthusiastic support. We therefore believe that it is a question of mobilizing public opinion in favor of the program, because people are interested, and once the benefits are explained, they are enthusiastic about it. I am glad that it has been suggested that a committee be formed here today. It is our opinion that if this conference could be followed by several regional conferences throughout the country, it would be most beneficial. People constantly asked for information, asked for the reprinting of the various charts we presented, and were constantly saying that this information ought to be available and that it was the first time they had heard any defense of the program. We were speaking in favor of full authorization of the \$3.9 billion and for appropriation of that amount to carry the program through the next fiscal year.

I think it is most unfortunate that this program has been so hurt by various slogans such as, "the



Congressmen Chester E. Mellow (Republican, New Hampshire), left and A. J. S. Carnahan (Democrat, Missouri), reported on their joint speaking tour of 32 cities in 21 states, on behalf of the Mutual Security Program.



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great giveaway." It has been called a "handout" and "pouring money down a rat hole." Now once the benefits of the program are explained, as they have been explained here today, people are in support of the program. And I think they agree with us that if it must be called "the great giveaway," then our whole foreign aid or American aid program—if it must be called that, then it certainly is the most productive give-away and the most productive handout, and the most productive rat hole in human history. And I am certainly pleased to see this enthusiasm. I hope, Mr. Chairman, that it is followed by regional conferences throughout the United States. We have concluded that once we can mobilize public opinion, people will insist on full authorization and appropriation of the funds to carry on this program.

Mr. Carnahan: I am glad to associate myself again with my good Yankee Republican friend from New England and again offer any assistance that we can give to furthering understanding of this program by our people. As Mr. Merrow told you, we have been out on the road for about a month, and we have met a lot of people and found an intense interest in the program. We have found an eagerness to learn about it and know what it is all about, and we have not found too much knowledge on the part of our people of what the program has cost or what it has accomplished. Our audiences were really startled to find what the program has cost in comparison to other costs, and what some of the accomplishments have been. We are often told that this is the first time they had heard the program defended.

I want to join my friend in urging continuation of what you are doing here today, and I think consideration should be given to regional conferences. I am convinced, as Mr. Merrow is, that it is not a case of selling the program to our people or convincing them of its worth—it is just merely mobilizing the support that exists throughout the country—support that has not been expressed.

Those who have opposed the program have done the talking and those who know something

Guests at the conference took an active part in the afternoon panel sessions.

about it just have not had too much to say. People were constantly asking us wherever we went, "What can we do? What can we do to help?" We have encouraged study of the program. It certainly would be reassuring to bring knowledge of what the program has been and what it had accomplished to our people throughout the country. I hope that regional conferences will be given serious consideration.

Mr. Cocke: Thank you very much.

Question: When does this bill come up in Congress?

Mr. Cocke: Hearings are just beginning. It will be some little time before a vote is taken on the *authorization*, probably no earlier than the last two weeks in April, and the *appropriation* hearings will start some time later.

Question: I am Darcy Wilson, Director of CARE in New England. At the suggestion and request of the officials of CARE, I would like to state that the field directors throughout the United States are ready to cooperate with other agencies in organizing regional conferences like the one in Washington.

Mr. Cocke: We would like to hear from as many as possible.

Question: Women's organizations could do a lot on this issue. I hope representatives here today will go back to their own groups and get strong mandates on Mutual Security.

Mr. Cocke: A very good point. The 1956 platforms of both parties are in line with today's activities as well as your comments.

Question: (Partly inaudible) I am enthusiastic about our program today. I am enthusiastic about the programs being suggested here. However, it seems to me that there has been too much dissatisfaction expressed with the workings of the Mutual Security Program. There is too much concern, it seems to me, about how things may go wrong in the future even if we do have the full support of the American people and Congress does appropriate the money. We have in today's *Washington Post* a letter from a little girl in Viet-Nam

asking a question which, in my opinion, should not be asked if the total program were carried out in the proper manner . . . I do not intend at this time to raise basic issues. I would like to suggest that we hold conferences similar to this, bi-partisan conferences dealing with our American foreign policy. Perhaps then our foreign aid or our Mutual Security Program would be in proper prospective.

Mr. Cocke: Thank you very much for your comments. The consensus of this group is certainly that there be a continuation of what was started here today.

Question: Mr. Chairman, I think we should take advantage of having a captive audience here and ask them to take this issue to their home towns, to the grass roots, and sell it to the people.

Mr. Cocke: I think that is an excellent suggestion. But the idea of bringing the organizational people of the country together was not to change anybody's mandates or resolutions but to encourage them to take a long-range approach to foreign affairs generally and particularly to follow through on discussing the foreign aid program on the basis of the kind of information we have received here today.

Because of the lateness of the hour, may I summarize at this point by saying that it seems to be the consensus of this group that a national organization be formed—a central agency to disseminate information, in liaison with the government but completely independent.

Question: (A woman in the audience) Mr. Chairman, may I make a formal motion to that effect? I now make a motion that this body assembled here recommend the establishment of a permanent committee to carry on the work.

Mr. Cocke: You heard the motion. Is there a second? The motion has been made and seconded. I do not wish to limit debate, but since the hour is very late, will all those in favor so indicate by standing. (*The audience stood in unison.*) We will try our best to set up the kind of organization you have proposed. Now we are going to have to close this session. Thank you very much. We hope everyone here will be back at the dinner tonight.

Part Four

PROGRAM AND PARTICIPANTS

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

January 10, 1958

Dear Eric:

In recent weeks there have come to the White House many inquiries with respect to the foreign aspects of our national security. They indicate a natural and keen desire to receive fuller information in these particular fields.

In our free society the Government has a duty to keep the people informed on what it proposes to do and why. Without full public awareness it is difficult for the Nation to put forward maximum effort and obtain maximum results. During your service with the Government as Chairman of the International Development Advisory Board and through your travels abroad you have gained firsthand knowledge of our economic development and security problems.

In the light of the numerous requests that I have received, it would be highly gratifying to me and a great service to the Nation if you would be willing to call in Washington a conference of business and organization leaders, bipartisan in character, to explore means of conveying to our citizens a fuller flow of information on the foreign aspects of our national security.

I do hope that you will feel that you can give the time to do this.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Dwight D. Eisenhower". The signature is fluid and cursive, with the first name "Dwight" being particularly prominent and stylized.

The Honorable Eric A. Johnston
1600 Eye Street, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

90 PROGRAM AND PARTICIPANTS

Conference on Foreign Aspects of
United States National Security

Hotel Statler
Washington, D. C.
February 25, 1958

PROGRAM

CONFERENCE CHAIRMAN:

The Hon. Eric Johnston

CONFERENCE CO-CHAIRMEN:

Mrs. J. Ramsay Harris

Mr. Erle Cocke, Jr.

8:00 REGISTRATION

9:30 MORNING SESSION

The National Anthem

Conference Invocation

Welcome

UNITED STATES ARMY BAND

DR. CHARLES W. LOWRY, PhD (OXON.)
*Executive Director, Foundation for Religious Action
in the Social and Civil Order*

THE HON. ERIC JOHNSTON
Conference Chairman

9:40 The Free World
And Mutual Security

THE HON. JOHN FOSTER DULLES
Secretary of State

10:00 Address

THE HON. ADLAI E. STEVENSON

10:20 Military Assistance

THE HON. NEIL H. McELROY
Secretary of Defense

10:40 Recess

10:55 The Soviet Economic
And Trade Offensive

THE HON. ALLEN W. DULLES
Director, Central Intelligence Agency

11:15 The Moral Foundations of
U.S. Foreign Assistance

REV. EDWIN T. DAHLBERG
*President, National Council of Churches of Christ
in the U. S. A.*

RABBI THEODORE L. ADAMS
President, Synagogue Council of America

BISHOP FULTON J. SHEEN
Auxiliary Bishop of New York

12:00 Luncheon Recess

12:30 LUNCHEON SESSION

Invocation

DR. ABRAHAM J. FELDMAN
Rabbi, Temple Beth Israel, Hartford, Conn.

Toastmaster

THE HON. DEAN G. ACHESON
Former Secretary of State

Address

THE HON. HARRY S. TRUMAN
Former President of the United States

2:30 AFTERNOON SESSION

The Proposed Mutual
Security Program

THE HON. RICHARD M. NIXON
Vice President of the United States

Question and Answer Panel

THE HON. RICHARD M. NIXON
THE HON. C. DOUGLAS DILLON
Deputy Under Secretary of State
THE HON. JAMES H. SMITH, JR.
Director, International Cooperation Administration
THE HON. DEMPSTER MCINTOSH
Manager, Development Loan Fund

4:00 Science, Technology and
Free World Development

DR. JAMES R. KILLIAN, JR.
*Special Assistant to the President
for Science and Technology*

4:15 Recess

4:30 Panel on Post-Conference
Education

THE HON. ERIC JOHNSTON
Conference Chairman
MR. ERLE COCKE, JR.
Conference Co-Chairman
MRS. J. RAMSAY HARRIS
Conference Co-Chairman
THE HON. A. S. J. CARNAHAN
Member, House of Representatives
THE HON. CHESTER E. MERROW
Member, House of Representatives

8:00 DINNER SESSION

Invocation

HIS EMINENCE SAMUEL CARDINAL STRITCH
Archbishop of Chicago

Address

THE HON. DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER
President of the United States

Conference Benediction

RT. REV. HENRY KNOX SHERRILL
The Presiding Bishop of the Episcopal Church

Music

UNITED STATES MARINE BAND

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 HON. DEAN G. ACHESON, *former Secretary of State*
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